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CONTENTS

NOTICE TO READERS: An • indicates material not disseminated in electronic form.

FRONT PAGE

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

Arab-Israeli Talks

Al-'Allaf Says Rabin Obstructing Peace Process *[SANA]* 2
Al-'Allaf Says No Agreement Reached on Security *[Damascus Radio]* 2
'Breakthrough' Reported in Israel-Jordan Talks *[Jerusalem Radio]* 3
More on Israel's Talks With Syria, Lebanon *[Jerusalem Radio]* 3
'Abd-al-Shafi Comments on 16 Nov Talks *[Amman Radio]* 3
Jordanian Delegate Comments on Refugees Talks *[AL-RA'Y 17 Nov]* 4

Palestinian Affairs

Hamas Shuns Meeting with PLO, Demands Apology *[JORDAN TIMES 17 Nov]* 5
Clinton Impartiality in Mideast Conflict Questioned *[London AL-QUDS AL-'ARABI 12 Nov]* 6
'Arafat Calls for Israeli 'Goodwill' Gestures *[Jerusalem AL-MANAR 16 Nov]* 6
Change Seen in Israeli Negotiating Stance *[London AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT 12 Nov]* 7
PLO Central Council Minutes for 15, 16 Oct *[Beirut AL-SAFIR 22 Oct]* 8
Change in Iranian Position on PLO Sees *[Cairo ROSE AL-YUSUF 2 Nov]* 18

ARAB AFRICA

Egypt

Mubarak Opens Parliamentary Session *[Cairo Radio]* 21
Musa Leaves for G-15 Talks, Comments on Peres Visit *[MENA]* 31
Iran Warned To Stop 'Terrorist Intervention' *[Cairo Radio]* 31
Accused of Arming Terrorists *[MENA]* 32

Libya

Country Ready for 'Fair' Trial of Lockerbie Suspects *[JANA]* 32
Jallud to Congress on New U.S. Administration *[JANA]* 32
Report on Ghali Letter to al-Qadhdhafi Denied *[JANA]* 33

IRAQ

Bulgaria Arrests Iraqi Suspects in Arms Deal *[London SAWT AL-KUWAYT AL-DUWALI 13 Nov]* 34
Paper Views Turkish-Syrian-Iranian Ankara Talks *[AL-THAWRAH 13 Nov]* 34
BABIL Hopes for 'New' U.S. Foreign Policy *[INA]* 35
Gorbachev's 'Treason,' Yeltsin's 'Subservience' Viewed *[INA]* 35
Paper Comments on Iranian Dreams of Domination *[INA]* 36
Spokesman Says Iran Still Detains POW's *[INA]* 36
German Scientist Describes Embargo Effects *[INA]* 36
Minister Says Increased OPEC Output Detrimental *[INA]* 37
Oil Minister Views Reentry Into Market *[INA]* 37
Saddam Authorized To Grant Salaries *[AL-THAWRAH 6 Nov]* 37
Minister Chairs Meeting on Interior Ministry Plan *[Baghdad Radio]* 38

ISRAEL

IDF Continues Withdrawal From South Lebanon *[Jerusalem Radio]* 39
4 Civilians Freed From 'Terrorists' in Lebanon *[Tel Aviv Radio]* 39
Arab Dies, 8 Injured in Jerusalem Old City Blast *[Jerusalem Radio]* 39
'Massive' Demonstration Against Golan Concessions *[Jerusalem Radio]* 39
Peres Discusses Visit to Cairo, Peace Talks *[Jerusalem Radio]* 39
Herzog Meets Bush, Sees No Change in U.S. Policy *[Jerusalem Radio]* 40
Peres May Meet Clinton, Gore in U.S. in February *[Jerusalem Radio]* 40
Peres Concerned About Iranian 'Menace' *[Jerusalem Radio]* 40

JORDAN

Four Abu-Nidal Group Members, Others Released *[Paris Radio Monte Carlo]* 41
Muslim Brotherhood, Hamas Welcome Amnesty *[JORDAN TIMES 17 Nov]* 41
King's FINANCIAL TIMES Interview Cited *[JORDAN TIMES 7 Nov]* 42
Hasan Says Time for Change in Iraqi Leadership *[Stockholm SVENSKA DAGBLADET 15 Nov]* 43

SYRIA

Khaddam Views Peace Process, Lebanon *[London AL-MAJALLAH 11-17 Nov]* 45
Al-Shar' Holds Ankara Talks on Iraq Issues *[cross-reference]* 48

SOUTH ASIA

Iran

Clinton Victory, 'Zionist Tricks' Viewed *[KAYHAN INTERNATIONAL 5 Nov]* 49
Clinton Reproached for 'Careless' Remarks *[JOMHURI-YE ESLAMI 7 Nov]* 49
Ministry Rejects Statement on Disputed Islands *[IRNA]* 50
Dailies Criticize GCC Statement *[IRNA]* 50
Rafsanjani Decries 'Propaganda' on Arms Purchases *[Tehran Radio]* 51
Russian Envoy Views Submarine Sales, Ties *[ABRAR 9 Nov]* 52
Delegate Addresses Security Council on Bosnia *[Tehran Radio]* 54
Red Crescent To Send More Aid to Bosnia *[IRNA]* 55
Velayati Informs Turkey of Release of Ship *[Tehran Radio]* 55
Egypt's Role as Peace 'Broker' Questioned *[Tehran Radio]* 56
New Civil Aviation Chief Appointed *[Tehran Radio]* 56

Pakistan

Islamabad March Banned; Prohibitory Orders Imposed *[Islamabad Radio]* 56
'Political Terrorism' Charged *[Islamabad TV]* 57
March Ban Explained *[Islamabad Radio]* 57
Bhutto Comments on Rally Ban, Raid, Arrests *[Delhi Radio]* 57
Armed Police Occupy Rawalpindi Rally Site *[AFP]* 57

Pakistan

The Federal Government banned the opposition march planned for 18 November from entering the capital, Islamabad radio reports. Federal Minister Chaudhary Nissar Ali Khan told journalists that the government made the decision in light of its duty to protect lives and property. The government also prohibited the "assembly of five or more persons and the carrying of arms in the territorial limits of the federal capital." Police in Rawalpindi "sealed off" the site designated for an opposition rally and banned all public gatherings, according to AFP. According to Senator Iqbal Haider, "more than 10,000 opposition supporters" have been arrested nationwide, the agency adds.

Iran

The Foreign Ministry rejected the Gulf Cooperation Council stance against Iranian occupation of the disputed islands of Abu Musa and the Tunbs, IRNA reports. The statement of the five defense ministers who participated in the Kuwait meeting "runs counter to the political realities of the region," the ministry declared.

Meanwhile, President Hashemi-Rafsanjani decried the "extensive propaganda of Western media regarding arms purchases" as a attempt to "bring political pressure on Iran." In an address cited by Tehran radio, Rafsanjani told the security-intelligence organization of the Islamic Revolution Guard Corps that the West is concerned about Iran's "rule of unity and strength," including its considerable economic progress. The president charged that the Western media are causing unfair "commotion about the purchase of several submarines."

Arab-Israeli Talks

Al-'Allaf Says Rabin Obstructing Peace Process

JN1611182492 Damascus SANA in Arabic 1740 GMT 16 Nov 92

[Text] Washington, 16 Nov (SANA)—The seventh round of Middle East peace talks began its last week today when the Arab delegations resumed meetings with the Israeli side following the weekend.

Answering questions posed by journalists before today's meeting, Muwaffaq al-'Allaf, head of the Syrian delegation, said the charges made against Syria for its position on peace by Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhaq Rabin in his interview with THE WASHINGTON POST yesterday practically aim to sabotage peace.

He said leveling these charges on the Syrian position on peace after all the constructive ideas and proposals it presented for the sake of realizing a comprehensive and just peace indicates that Rabin is not sincere in his desire for peace.

Al-'Allaf added that, in his statements, Rabin ignores the fact that what is obstructing the peace process is that his actions are a repeat of what Yitzhaq Shamir did to this process.

Al-'Allaf pointed out that President Hafiz al-Asad has called for achieving a peace of the brave, and has repeated on various occasions Syria's desire to have a just and comprehensive peace in the region.

Al-'Allaf added that by rejecting the principles on which Resolutions 242 and 338 and the peace process are based, Rabin himself is obstructing the realization of peace.

Answering a question on how the Syrian commitment to peace and the media reports of it buying missiles can go together, al-'Allaf said that it is sarcastic to speak about this subject at a time when the whole world knows that Israel has huge quantities of weapons, including nuclear, chemical, and advanced weapons, and including weapons that are on their way from the United States to be stockpiled in Israel, as reports have said.

Al-'Allaf Says No Agreement Reached on Security

JN1711075892 Damascus Syrian Arab Republic Radio Network in Arabic 0515 GMT 17 Nov 92

[Text] Muwaffaq al-'Allaf, head of the Syrian Arab delegation to the peace talks, has said that discussions in yesterday's meeting dealt with the question of security.

Speaking to reporters after the meeting, he added that this issue also will take up some time at today's meeting, before discussions shift to the question of withdrawal.

Al-'Allaf added that despite endorsing important principles on which security is based, such as the principle that the security of any party should not be at the expense of another's security, there was no agreement on the question of security because the Israeli side requested the inclusion of a concept related to specific security needs which cannot be accepted.

Answering other questions by reporters, al-'Allaf said that yesterday's meeting briefly discussed statements made by the Israeli prime minister in light of their negative impact on the peace process. The issue of southern Lebanon also was discussed briefly. In this regard, the Syrian delegation asserted that the cause of all that is happening there is the Israeli occupation itself, and that when this cause is removed, its results will disappear, as well.

Answering a question on the possibility of holding a new session of talks shortly, al-'Allaf said: Everything depends on the outcome of this round. First we should look into the feasibility of meeting again after 10 days or two weeks, especially under circumstances in which the Israeli side does not show a desire to move forward.

Al-'Allaf added: In any case, a decision on the possibility of holding another session usually is made by the foreign ministers of Arab states participating in the peace process who will meet after this round and make the decision on whether or not to travel to Washington, or to wait until after 20 January, in light of the results of this round.

Asked whether the Arab side is trying to set preconditions for convening another round, al-'Allaf said: Since the opening of the Madrid conference, the Arab side has not set preconditions. The opposite is true.

Al-'Allaf wondered whether the Arab demand that the Israeli side show sufficient seriousness about commitment to the terms on which the invitations to the peace conference were based—which are a comprehensive settlement covering all parties concerned with the dispute and applying Resolutions 242 and 338—constitutes a precondition.

Al-'Allaf noted the hullabaloo created by the Yitzhaq Rabin government recently when it accepted Resolution 242 as if it were a breakthrough or a marvelous act, given that the peace process is originally based on Resolution 242 and every party to this process should accept and apply this resolution.

On the possibility of issuing a joint statement of principles, al-'Allaf said: This depends on the Israelis' readiness to accept the basic elements to establish a just, comprehensive, and lasting peace. Regrettably, however, we feel that the Israeli side is not authorized or permitted to go ahead, for reasons that are known very well. We interpret the accusations made by Yitzhaq Rabin against Syria which aim to cover up the Israelis' real intentions in the light of these reasons.

Asked whether he believes the Israelis are seeking deliberately to obstruct progress until the new U.S. Administration assumes office on 20 January, he said: This is

what we fear, since nothing else can explain the sudden change in the Israeli position in the second half of this round, considering that the Israeli side is trying to prevent progress on all tracks of negotiations.

'Breakthrough' Reported in Israel-Jordan Talks

TA1711055692 Jerusalem Qol Yisra'el in English 0500 GMT 17 Nov 92

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] A real breakthrough came in talks between Israel and Jordan last night. Israeli spokesman Yosi Gal said negotiations have moved from procedural matters to substantive issues, and the first issue under discussion is that of water. Connie Lonn reports from Washington:

[Lonn] The Syrians continue to accuse Israel of impeding the talks because Israel will not withdraw from the Golan Heights without proper security guarantees. Israeli negotiator Itamar Rabinovich says he is not happy. He says the Syrians insist on full withdrawal, without any willingness to elaborate on peace. The Israelis believe there should be language respecting the security concerns of both parties. Rabinovich suggests a security regime acceptable to both countries, but the Syrians rejected the suggestion as ill-timed, and the Israelis believe there will be no joint statement between them when the talks end in a few days.

In the talks with the Palestinians, the parties are working on the concept of the interim self-government. They have also discussed human rights issues. The latest bombing in Jerusalem was discussed, and Israeli negotiator Eli Rubinstein said Israel would do its best to bring the perpetrators to justice. Progress does appear to be on the horizon in the talks with the Palestinians and the Jordanians.

In talks with the Lebanese, the parties called the session constructive, but Israel made it clear Lebanon must keep the border tranquil. The Israeli goal continues to be a peace treaty with Lebanon and not a piecemeal solution. The parties are also discussing the military personnel in each country. [passage omitted]

More on Israel's Talks With Syria, Lebanon

TA1611212492 Jerusalem Qol Yisra'el in Hebrew 2100 GMT 16 Nov 92

[Excerpts] The Israeli and Syrian delegations in Washington discussed mutual security arrangements, but did not go into details. Our correspondent in Washington Shlomo Raz reports that the atmosphere in the conference room was businesslike despite the attack by Muwaffaq al-'Allaf, the head of the Syrian delegation, on Prime Minister Rabin prior to the meeting. Itamar Rabinovich, the head of the Israeli delegation, made it clear to al-'Allaf that Rabin's remarks about al-Asad and Syria represent the official Israeli Government line. [passage omitted]

In the meeting with the Lebanese delegation, Israel announced that it does not differentiate between Katyusha shelling and the planting of roadside bombs in the security zone and therefore will continue to fight Hizballah until quiet is restored to the region. The Israeli delegation rejected Lebanon's demand to discuss the UN resolution calling for evacuation of the security zone.

Uri Lubrani, the head of the Israeli delegation to the talks with Lebanon, told Arab correspondents in Washington that there will be no need for an Israeli presence in the security zone when the terrorist activity in south Lebanon is crushed. He declared that Israel recognizes Lebanese sovereignty over the security zone and has no territorial demands in Lebanon. Our monitor Mikha'el Gurdus was told that Lubrani clarified to the Lebanese delegation that Hizballah activities cause an intensification of the Israeli presence in the security zone. He called on Lebanon to get rid of the terrorists with the help of its Army, and then its sovereignty will be restored to the south.

'Abd-al-Shafi Comments on 16 Nov Talks

JN1711072092 Amman Radio Jordan Network in Arabic 0500 GMT 17 Nov 92

[Excerpt] The first session of the last week of the current round of bilateral Arab-Israeli peace negotiations was held in Washington last night amid confirmations that the conferees on the four negotiation tracks continued to discuss a series of objective issues. More in the following report:

The last session held last night was on the Jordanian-Israeli track. During this session, which continued until the early hours of this morning, Jordan local time, the two sides continued to discuss the suitable formulas for the language of some provisions of the agenda.

The working sessions on the Palestinian, Syrian, and Lebanese negotiation tracks with the Israeli teams were concluded earlier last night. Slight progress on the Palestinian-Israeli track was announced.

Within this framework, unofficial working groups met to discuss many issues, the most prominent of which are human rights, land, and the concept of autonomous rule in the occupied territories.

Dr. Haydar 'Abd-al-Shafi, head of the Palestinian delegation to the peace negotiations, said that during yesterday's session the delegation submitted a paper to the Israeli delegation on human rights violations in the occupied territories as a result of the terrorist act that took place in occupied Jerusalem when a bomb was thrown in a market crowded with Arab citizens. The blast resulted in the martydom of a citizen and the injury of 12 others.

Dr. Haydar 'Abd-al-Shafi noted that besides submitting this paper, two unofficial meetings were held. The first was devoted to discussing the concept of the transitional

period and the second dealt with ways to reach agreement on how to deal with the human rights issue.

Unofficial meetings will continue to reach close views on the issues under discussion. [passage omitted]

Jordanian Delegate Comments on Refugees Talks

JN1711101392 Amman AL-RA'Y in Arabic 17 Nov 92 p 37

[By Samih Haddad]

[Text] Washington—PETRA—Dr. Jawad al-'Anani, head of the Jordanian delegation to the committee on refugees that recently ended its meetings in Ottawa, Canada, has stressed that Jordan played a basic role in this committee. He added that through cooperation with the Palestinian and other Arab delegations, Jordan was able to underscore the constants of the Jordanian policy. He noted that the firm Jordanian stand cannot concede the political rights of the refugees. In a statement to the JORDANIAN NEWS AGENCY upon his return to Washington after participating in these meetings, al-'Anani said: Jordan's message was conveyed to the committee's meetings through the escalation that occurred. He said that Jordan, under the leadership of His Majesty King Husayn, knows its objectives and follows a practical and scientific approach to attain them. He added that Jordan believes in its rights and knows how to achieve them in a civilized and internationally acceptable way.

Dr. al-'Anani stressed that coordination continued with the Palestinians as well as the other Arab countries that are involved in this vital and delicate issue.

Dr. al-'Anani said: In this meeting, Jordan sought to achieve its objectives through negotiations. The most prominent objective was the underscoring of the refugees' rights as stipulated in UN Resolutions 194 for 1948 and 237 for 1967 and in the international law. These two resolutions include the rights of refugees not only in this region, but also throughout the entire world.

He added that the role of the United Nations Relief and Works Agency [UNRWA] has been underscored in view of its long experience in dealing with refugees in camps and its close dealing with the host countries. He said that since Israel is not a host country, it will not have a role in improving the conditions of the refugees until their right to repatriation is achieved.

Al-'Anani said: Jordan has also sought to emphasize the political rights of refugees and make these rights an indivisible part of the talks within the multilateral committee. He noted that some parties are trying to render the committee's mission purely technical. What is being discussed within the committee on refugees should be a factor that helps bilateral negotiations, and not replaces them.

Jordan has also sought to maintain Jordanian-Palestinian coordination, and within a broader framework, to maintain coordination among the Arab states which attended the committee's meetings, which are Jordan, Palestine, Egypt, Morocco, Tunisia, Algeria, Saudi Arabia, Bahrain, United Arab Emirates, Kuwait, and Yemen. Jordan also tried to give prominence to the sacrifices it offered in light of the tragedies created by the Arab-Israeli dispute and its subsequent effects on refugees and returnees.

Dr. al-'Anani said that the committee's meetings faced a crisis during the first day because the Israeli delegation, which attended the talks for the first time, refused to take part in the talks because it claimed that Dr. Muhammad al-Hallaj, head of the Palestinian delegation, is a member of the Palestine National Council [PNC]. As a result of deliberations and immense efforts exerted before and during the meeting, the problem was resolved. The cosponsors of the conference said that Dr. al-Hallaj, who attended the PNC meetings last year, is currently not a member of the PNC. Dr. al-Hallaj also announced at a news conference that he is currently not a PNC member, but that he will attend the next PNC meetings if he is invited.

Consequently, al-'Anani said, Israel participated for the first time. Representatives of the UN secretary general, the UNRWA, and the UN Development Program also took part in the meetings.

Dr. al-'Anani noted that during the first day discussion focused on collecting data and statistics on the situation of refugees, studying their economic and social status, especially in places where the lowest level of services prevails, and financing UNRWA programs which are insufficiently financed for implementation.

The head of the Jordanian delegation explained that a program has been put forth to establish a data bank financed by Norway, Canada, and the EEC and implemented by UNRWA with the assistance of refugee experts.

Dr. al-'Anani said that during the committee meetings a program to train and create job apportunities for refugees was discussed. The Jordanian delegation affirmed that these projects should be implemented in cooperation and coordination with UNRWA and some other voluntary organizations working in the West Bank and Gaza Strip. The United States has shown its willingness to implment this program in cooperation with the EEC. In this regard, the Jordanian delegation submitted programs prepared by UNRWA at [refugee] camps in Jordan, which have insufficient funds.

On the right to repatriation, Dr. al-'Anani said: The Jordanian delegation chose to focus at this stage on two basic issues. The first issue dealt with reuniting families that were separated by wars since 1948 and by Israeli repressive measures, such as deportation. The other issue dealt with the immediate return of West Bank and Gaza Strip residents who have permits and those who

left with permits issued by Israeli authorities but were banned by those authorities from returning.

He added that the Israeli delegation objected to this on the pretext that this issue had been placed on the agenda in its absence given that it had previously agreed that Israeli measures on the right to return, family reunion, and the return of those with permits may be subject to improvement.

Dr. al'Anani noted that the Israeli chief delegate said that this issue should be discussed bilaterally with Jordan. However, the Jordanian delegation insisted that this provision of the agenda was approved by all those who attended the meetings. He added: We should prevent anybody from changing the agenda.

The discussion on repatriation took a long time during which the Canadian head of the committee and the conference cosponsors tried to convince Israel to agree on having a French representative submit a report that examines Israel's measures in this regard and the bases it uses to allow Palestinians to return and families to reunite, and the extent of Israel's observance of human rights and its offering of certain proposals on this issue. The Israeli delegation, however, rejected this.

Dr. al-'Anani said that at that time the Jordanian delegation decided to consider the objectives behind Israel's refusal to implement this basic refugees' right as contradictory to the committee's objectives. This is especially so since Jordan insists that the right to return is basic and that any other temporary plans aimed at lifting the oppression of refugees cannot be accepted in the absence of the right to return. Therefore, the conference cosponsors and the head of the committee were delegated to contact the countries concerned in order to find a solution to this issue.

Concluding his interview, Dr. al-'Anani said: Jordan's desire for a just, comprehensive, and lasting peace depends a great deal on the extent of success in finding a just solution to the refugee issue based on international law including the related UN resolutions.

It is noteworthy that the committee's next meeting will be held in Oslo, Norway, during the first quarter of next year.

Palestinian Affairs

Hamas Shuns Meeting with PLO, Demands Apology

JN1711084592 Amman JORDAN TIMES in English 17 Nov 92 pp 1, 5

[By JORDAN TIMES staff reporter Maryam M. Shahin]

[Excerpt] Amman—The conflict between the Palestine Liberation Organisation (PLO) and the Islamic Resistance Movement Hamas, entered a new phase Monday when a planned PLO-Hamas meeting in Khartoum failed to take place, and a top Hamas official here demanded that PLO Chairman Yasir 'Arafat make a public apology for statements he made about the group.

The planned PLO-Hamas reconciliation meeting, which was planned about six weeks ago, did not materialise, with Hamas officials snubbing Mr. 'Arafat by not showing up for the meeting. Instead, Mr. 'Arafat held talks with the spiritual leader of the Sudanese government, Hassan al-Turabi, who had volunteered to act as a middleman in the reconciliation effort.

Hamas accused the PLO leadership of fabricating "lies" about its relationship with Iran. In an official statement made available to the press Monday, Hamas contended that reports claiming the group was working with, and is being financially backed by the Iranian regime, were ill-founded.

During a visit to Jordan in October, Mr. 'Arafat compared Hamas to the politically conservative Zulu Inkatha Movement in South Africa. Hamas accused Mr. 'Arafat of making veiled threats in which he indicated a willingness to use force against the Islamic organisation.

The threats were made indirectly, says Hamas, when Mr. 'Arafat said the PLO was not prepared to give in to Hamas objections to Palestinian participation in the peace process, and would be willing to use arms to defend its stand.

It was apparently in response to Mr. 'Arafat statements that Ibrahim Ghawshah, the Amman based Hamas spokesman told the Associated Press Monday that "Hamas will not meet with any representative of the PLO, including (Chairman Yasir) 'Arafat, unless he publicly apologises for recent accusations and threats he made against Hamas."

An Amman based PLO official responded that it was "extremely unlikely" that Mr. 'Arafat would make a public apology to "anyone."

"The issue of a public apology is not likely but a reconciliation is necessary in the long run to ensure Palestinian unity," the official told the Jordan Times on condition of anonymity, "President 'Arafat went to the trouble of going to Khartoum to talk to Hamas and they are the ones obstructing Palestinian unity," added the official.

Mr. Ghawshah categorically denied any financial links to Iran or that Mr. al-Turabi had any contacts with Hamas's leadership. Mr. al-Turabi "has never contacted our leadership and mediation can't be only with one party," Mr. Ghawshah was quoted as telling AP when asked about Mr. al-Turabi's efforts to reconcile the PLO and Hamas.

Hamas operates several "Sudanese-Hamas Friendship Associations" in and outside Khartoum and is known to have close working relationship with the Sudanese government.

Iran's recognition of Hamas as the "sole legal representative" of the Palestinian people on Saturday "does imply" a very close relationship between Hamas and the Iranian leadership, the PLO official said.

The failure of representatives of Hamas and the PLO chairman to meet is a blow to Palestinian unity, which has been wavering continuously since the PLO sanctioned the participation of Palestinians in the U.S.-sponsored talks with Israel last year.

Since the intifadah began four years ago, Hamas has openly vied with the PLO for the leadership of the Palestinians by competing with the Tunis based organization for popular support. While initially competing for support of the masses by launching an increasing number of attacks against the Israeli occupation authorities, the two groups later turned their arms against each other. [passage omitted]

Clinton Impartiality in Mideast Conflict Questioned

PM1611164792 London AL-QUDS AL-'ARABI in Arabic 12 Nov 92 p 11

[Editorial: "Clinton Shows His Cards, Identifies His Enemies and Friends"]

[Text] New U.S. President Bill Clinton has begun to expose his plans with regard to our Arab region. And these plans are not auspicious for the Arab states, which are seeking to achieve strategic parity—we would not say superiority—with Israel.

In a recent press interview Clinton pledged to work tirelessly to halt missile proliferation in the Middle East and keep mass destruction weapons beyond the reach of Iraq, Iran, Syria, and Libya. The new president emphasized in an interview with the magazine MIDDLE EAST INSIGHT that he would remain committed to Israel's qualitative superiority over its potential enemies.

These pledges mean that Clinton will not be an impartial broker in the current peace process, as he said in the interview. How can there be impartiality, when he does not conceal his commitment to Israel's military superiority and when he pledges to remove the Arabs' and Iran's missiles that could pose some threat to Israel.

Without doubt, if Clinton continues the policies he is talking about before assuming power, he will find himself preoccupied with foreign policy matters and their complications, without sufficient time left for implementing the economic program which he promised his voters and on the basis of which he won the presidency.

While President Bush sees the Middle East region from the angle of oil and the states surrounding it, it seems that Clinton sees things from the angle of Israeli interests—a mistake which is not lesser but greater than President Bush's mistake in the region.

The difference between Bush and Clinton in this connection is that the former has experience in Middle East affairs, whereas the latter lacks it, since Israel is not the Middle East and oil is not all the Arabs.

We expect the new U.S. president to be impartial, not only in the peace process but in his implementation of the principle of disarming the region fairly and equally.

This is because all the region's people aspire to achieve peace and put an end to wars of destruction and the weapons of war. But this peace cannot be achieved as long as Israel remains the largest dump of nuclear and chemical mass destruction weapons.

Clinton, who demonstrated against the war in Vietnam and opposed using U.S. military force to destroy the small Vietnamese people, fighting for their freedom to live in dignity away from foreign interference, ought not to accept that Israel play the role the United States played in Vietnam, continuing to suppress a small people occupied by it and using its aircraft, missiles, and powerful military machine to terrorize and discipline neighboring states.

We will not be hasty in reaching verdicts, since the man has yet to assume power and is living the euphoria of his election victory. And we believe that the telephone contacts he is making with some Arab leaders and the expected meetings between his aides and some thinkers and experts in Arab affairs could make the picture clearer for the new president and correct some of his inaccurate concepts of the peace in the region.

True, the Arab states are in a state of weakness and fragility as a result of the splits they are experiencing and the results of the second Gulf war, but this state cannot last forever. Besides, there are many cards in the Arabs' hands which can be used effectively to serve their interests. At any rate, returning the region to the Cold War picture and continuing the pressure on the Arabs but not on Israel will not bring about stability in the region. Nor will the lack of stability be in the interests of anyone, including the Clinton administration.

'Arafat Calls for Israeli 'Goodwill' Gestures

TA1611165492 Jerusalem AL-MANAR in Arabic 16 Nov 92 p 1

[Text] Palestinian President Yasir 'Arafat informed Egyptian President Husni Mubarak of the danger of continued Israeli violations in the occupied territories and asked Egypt to act with the aim of putting an end to such violations.

AL-MANAR has learned that Cairo called on Israeli Foreign Minister Shim'on Peres to carry out practical "goodwill" measures, such as release of detainees, partial withdrawal of military forces, and promotion of a climate that helps in advancing the peace process and prevents an explosive situation.

Diplomatic circles in Cairo say that Israel is studying the possibility of implementing some steps and measures and that Cairo proposed many such measures to Peres. Those proposals were presented by President 'Arafat to the Egyptian president during the meetings held last week between the two presidents.

Change Seen in Israeli Negotiating Stance

PM1611143592 London AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT in Arabic 12 Nov 92 p 3

[Report on telephone interview with Dr. Nabil Sha'th, "chairman of the steering committee supervising the bilateral Palestinian-Israeli peace negotiations," in Washington by 'Ali al-Salih in London; date not given]

[Text] London—Dr. Nabil Sha'th, chairman of the steering committee supervising the bilateral Palestinian-Israeli peace negotiations, has confirmed the existence of unofficial Palestinian-Israeli working committees discussing the issues of territory, water, and the self-rule council's powers.

He said: "These committees are part of the negotiations. We call them unofficial because no progress has been made at the negotiation level."

AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT published a report on 8 November about these committees and the disagreement between PLO Chairman Yasir 'Arafat and Mahmud 'Abbas (Abu-Mazin), member of the Fatah Central Committee and chairman of the committee following up the negotiations, over a number of the issues raised, including the committees issue, UN Security Council Resolution 242, and the agreement between Jordan and Israel on the negotiating agenda. The report provoked a major clamor at the highest levels in Palestinian leadership circles in Tunis. They neither denied nor confirmed what was mentioned in the report. They just tried to find out the source which leaked this information.

But Dr. Nabil Sha'th, who was speaking to AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT over the telephone from his residence in Washington, where he is supervising the bilateral negotiations, denied that he could have received a message from 'Arafat in which the latter expressed amazement at what he regarded as exceeding of powers by the Palestinian followup committee, which is headed by Abu-Mazin, and warned against setting aside Resolution 242. He said: "That has never happened—a fact which points to the existence of complete harmony and coordination among members of the negotiating delegation."

He said that what was reported about a disagreement over Resolution 242 between 'Arafat and Abu-Mazin is completely baseless. He emphasized that this resolution "remains the foundation from which we proceed in the negotiations." He added: "No decision is issued except with President 'Arafat's approval."

Sha'th denied being a member of the followup committee in question himself. He regarded the committee as secret and declined to reveal the names of its members. He said only that Abu-Mazin was its head. He said: "I have nothing to do with that committee. It is based in Tunis and I am working from Washington."

It is worth noting that this committee comprises—in addition to Abu-Mazin—Yasir 'Abd-Rabbuh, Sulayman al-Najjab, and Nabil Sha'th.

Asked about the dispute between 'Arafat and Abu-Mazin over the Jordanian-Israeli agenda agreement in principle and the latter's opposition to any official on unofficial criticism of the agreement, he said: "There is no disagreement over the matter." He added: "The Palestinian side has objective concern and genuine questions about the agreement. We studied the draft agreement and found some points in it which provoke concern. We sent it on to the leadership in Tunis, which studied it in more detail and decided to send a delegation headed by Abu-Mazin to the Jordanian capital to discuss and explore the situation."

He went on: "The delegation returned from Amman in a positive spirit and submitted its report in the light of the visit and the Jordanian clarifications. On the basis of the report the delegation adopted a position and conveyed it to Amman, which expressed willingness to respond to our fears."

He said: "At any rate, in practice that agenda is no more than a way of dividing the time and determining the issues to be discussed."

On Jordan's reason for agreeing on the agenda now, that is a year after the launch of the negotiations, and its failure to discuss the matter with the Palestinian side beforehand, Sha'th pointed out that "the Jordanian side regarded it as a mechanical question which did not merit consultation with us." He went on: "Let us suspect our enemy, not our friends."

Asked about the source of the second part of the seventh round of negotiations, which began in Washington early in the week, Sha'th pointed out: "I can say that negotiations actually began on 23 August 1992, not 30 October 1991, as announced."

He went on to say: "A change has occurred in the Israeli position—if not in the essence, in the terms used—to the extent that the Israeli delegation no longer refers to the occupied territories as Judaea and Samaria, as it used to do in the days of the Shamir government. This is in addition to its willingness to discuss territory and water, as shown by the existence of the unofficial territory and water committees referred to earlier."

Asked whether the negotiating Palestinian delegation was conceding legislative elections in the occupied territories, especially because of Israel's and U.S. rejection of the idea, Dr. Sha'th said: "We have not conceded, nor will we concede that. Besides, the United States did not oppose the legislative elections."

Reminded of James Baker's statements during a tour of the region and his meetings with Palestinian figures in the occupied territories, in which he said: "Legislative elections are held in a state, and you are not a state," Sha'th denied that such statements could have been made by Baker. He emphasized that the United States rejected the Palestinian state idea, not the legislative elections, because they have nothing to do with it. If it did reject the idea, we would stop the negotiations."

He added: "The United States should intervene in the Jerusalem issue on the basis of its position clarified in the letter of assurance, which regards Jerusalem as an occupied territory."

As to Israel's insistence on rejecting even the possibility of including the Jerusalem issue on the negotiating agenda, he said: "Whatever the Israeli position, our position remains fixed and clear, namely that there can be no agreement that is not centered on Resolution 242 or does not include the establishment of an independent Palestinian state with Jerusalem as its capital. And if Israel continues to insist on excluding Jerusalem, no agreement will take place."

PLO Central Council Minutes for 15, 16 Oct

NC3010090092 Beirut AL-SAFIR in Arabic 22 Oct 92 p 9

[Text] The PLO Central Council's latest session that concluded in Tunis on 15 and 16 October is particularly important because it convened a few days before the resumption of the seventh round of bilateral negotiations. The Central Council stressed its support for continued participation in this round. The session also convened amid controversy among the Palestinian organizations and the people. The controversy was expressed in statements and counter-statements, demonstrations, and strikes called by the Palestinian opposition, represented by the 10 Palestinian organizations, after the sixth round of negotiations almost deadlocked. This situation required a stand on the usefulness of continuing the negotiations. The Central Council formed a group for proponents and opponents to the negotiations. Each party presented arguments and justifications supporting its respective position, although all parties agreed that the negotiations so far have not achieved real or tangible progress. In the following pages, AL-SAFIR presents the minutes of the PLO Central Council's latest session that included four meetings:

Following the opening of the session, PLO Political Department chief Faruq Qaddumi submitted a written report presenting a number of points, most important of which were:

A review of attempts to abolish the Palestinian issue.

Remarks that with the end of the cold war and the disintegration of the Soviet Union, the polarization era has ended and the United States and certain Western allies now dominate the world.

Remarks about the camp of friends that began to avoid us. He said the Palestinian issue in the Arab League has become like an old movie. He said: "Look to the changing world in Africa, Latin America, and Asia."

Dr. Haydar 'Abd-al-Shafi, head of the Palestinian delegation to the peace negotiations, said: I want to talk about the course of the talks in the sixth round of negotiations. First of all, I must mention two points regarding the basis of the peace process, that is Security Council Resolution 242. In my opinion, the interpretation of the resolution is clear from its clauses. It mentions land and says it is inadmissible to seize another's land by force. It emphasizes withdrawal and the people's right to live in peace and security in the region. The resolution does not need interpretation. Israel ignored this resolution and set its hands free to do what it wants in the region supported by its big ally, the United States.

Over the past 25 years, Israel has established a legal and administrative status quo. It amended existing laws and enacted new ones. It seized territories and used them in the interests of Israelis to establish settlements, roads, and regional councils. It seized well over 60 percent of the West Bank and 50 percent of the overpopulated Gaza Strip. In the early eighties, Israel established the civil administration and transferred responsibility for it from the Defense Ministry to other ministries in Israel. It established a link between the civil administration and the ministries and, directly or indirectly, the green line was abolished, which is a form of annexation.

Israel agreed to participate in the peace process, which the United States sought after the Gulf war, but after making intransigent conditions. It insisted on continuing to build settlements. Israel's conditions regarding the Palestinian representation are in line with its annexation goal. It does not recognize the unity of the Palestinian people inside and outside the occupied territories, hence its insistence on the form of the Palestinian delegation. This intransigence, however, did not prompt us to refuse to participate in the peace process. Had Israel entered into the peace process with minimum of good faith, it would have agreed to correct what happened—such as insistence on settlement building and the civil administration law—by transferring responsibility to the Defense Ministry. In the occupied territories, the law is applied in two different ways. The economic law shows racist discrimination. Israel has no good faith in the peace process as it did not reconsider any of its policies in these fields. It has usurped the civil courts' powers and the local organization authority has been given to the settlers, which shows Israel's bad intentions.

We have adopted a principled stand which abides by Security Council Resolution 242. We should have insisted on several points. The transitional period arrangements are the first stage and we defined our concept in this respect. It means moving from a transitional stage to one of independence. We stressed the transitional nature of this stage and the need to link it with the final status of the occupied areas. We stressed

the land issue and the importance of stopping settlement building, because the final status of the territories would be meaningless if settlement building continued. We emphasized the status of East Jerusalem. We demanded a comprehensive halt to settlement building. We stressed that the transitional government needs a geographic framework; that is, authority over the land as outlined in Resolution 242. Israel is stalling and it asserts that Resolution 242 does not apply to the occupied territories during the transitional stage. We stressed the principle of withdrawal and that during the transitional period the Israeli forces should withdraw to agreed-upon areas.

We demanded the cancellation of the existing laws. The transitional authority should be based on free and democratic elections and should have legislative powers, as well as power to cancel and amend laws and enact new ones. What happened during the sixth round of negotiations was a continuation of past rounds. The Israelis talked of transferring powers in certain fields but rejected the right to legislate.

As regards internal security, we stressed that this should constitute part of the powers of the transitional authority, while Israel insists that internal and external security and patrols along the borders fall within its powers. It also objects to the return of refugees and deportees.

Therefore, the negotiations have reached a stalemate and this stalemate continues. Someone looking at this from a distance would have many questions. Since these are Israel's stands, why should we stay at the negotiations' table? This is a legitimate question, but as long as we have already embarked on them, there is no need to worry. When we started the talks and I noticed the split within us, I said to myself: We should do our duty, but let our primary objective be national unity. Whether we should continue with the negotiations is a secondary issue when compared with national unity.

Abu-Mazin (PLO Executive Committee member Mahmud 'Abbas):

As is usual in my case, I do not wish to review the past when talking about the negotiations. I do not wish to go back to Baker's visits or Madrid and why we went there. We have now finished the sixth round of talks. I will cut short what I have to say about the events that have taken place in between the Council's two sessions. One of the most important is the Israeli elections, which so far have theoretically changed the face of Israeli politics. We still remember clearly that the statements of the Labor and Likud Parties were different. Shamir said he wished to negotiate with the Palestinians for 10 years. He said it seems the Palestinians are tired of struggling for Greater Israel. During the election process, Rabin said he was ready to realize results at the negotiations table in nine months. So far, none of the things Rabin said has materialized, as Dr. 'Abd-al-Shafi explained. There are certain statements by Rabin which we reject, such as those on Jerusalem and the distinction between security and political settlements. In this, Rabin is no different from Shamir. This distinction means that the expansionist mentality continues. Despite the mistakes they committed, the Arabs played cleverly during the elections.

What happened during the sixth round is adherence to international legitimacy and Resolution 242. Israel wants negotiations to suit its fancy, while the Palestinian delegation tried to entrench the Palestinian principles in a manner of which we can be proud.

Many of the conditions have changed. The presence of the delegation members here means a great deal. The delegation clings to the PLO and we still demand and work on developing the conditions of our participation in the peace process.

There is confusion that we are negotiating over autonomy. This does not mean that we should accept the Israeli understanding of it. We are fighting to sow the seed of independence in the autonomy project and we should not allow the doors to be locked between the transitional stage and independence. We do not give autonomy meanings that it does not have, but we do continue action to keep it open before the possibility of independence.

Before the sixth round of talks, rumors said Israel was seeking to sign an agreement with the Palestinians, a unilateral agreement like Camp David. We also heard some of our Palestinian brothers from inside the Fatah framework accusing us of seeking a unilateral solution. In actual fact, the Syrian course is miles ahead of the Palestinian.

Our situation is different to that of the other Arabs. We are negotiating over two stages with regard to withdrawal. Therefore, if we realize a solution on autonomy, it does not mean finding a unilateral solution since we have five years ahead of us. We shall struggle so that the five years are reduced.

I am afraid of what we are all afraid of: that the others will beat us to a solution, not that we will beat the others in finding a solution.

All the statements that have been issued claiming that we violated the legitimate Palestinian resolutions are clearly fake. The delegation has adhered to legitimate Palestinian resolutions. The framework for action we submitted did not forfeit anything.

When we talk about negotiations, we set the interests of our people before our eyes. Should we go to the seventh round? There are two opinions on this: One says we will realize success during the next round, and if we don't [go to this round], we will have cheated the people. This opinion is not correct. Another opinion says that since we will not be realizing anything, why should we go in the first place? This also is not correct. Neither this opinion nor the first one are accurate. We shall continue with our known stands and opinions.

Yasir 'Abd-Rabbuh (PLO Executive Committee Member): This meeting is of particular importance in view of the attendance of our brothers from the Palestinian delegation. We did not used to announce their attendance. Now the delegation participates openly and officially. This proves that as time passes, we make progress, even if it is limited. Symbolic steps are needed to prove the unity between the PLO and the people. Their meeting with us is possible because of the delegation's policy and the PLO's stands.

At the outset, I want to submit some questions: Has this policy led to progress? I agree with brother Bashir [al-Barghuti] that we cannot speak about guaranteed results in the negotiations. In struggles there are no guarantees. If guarantees were granted automatically, there would be no need for a struggle. We can note the progress by comparing the current situation to the situation a year ago, when there were attempts to isolate the PLO. The Madrid Conference tried to separate the Palestinians from the inside and from the outside; that is, the people from the PLO. This is significant. It indicates that we can now shut the window they [Israelis] wanted to open for us. There is progress in other aspects as well. The downfall of the Shamir government did not occur by itself. The Shamir government fell because of this policy. Had we adopted a different and negative policy, we would not have achieved these results.

As for inter-Arab relations, we were alert to Rabin's attempts to separate the Arab issues at the negotiations. For starters, we must not be sacred of Israel's maneuvers to make progress on one front at the expense of another. Israel wants Syria to commit itself to a separate peace agreement and to normalization relations before discussing a withdraw from the Golan. We must be concerned at this Israeli maneuver.

Taysir Khalid (Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine [DFLP]): There is nothing more dear to us than national unity within the framework of the PLO, our sole legitimate representative. The PLO is our political structure, one we built through fighting and with weapons, sweat, and suffering in Israeli jails and the jails of all Arab countries. I declare that we are and will remain the defenders of the PLO because we built it and have defended it more than once. However, national unity has its laws, rules, and requirements, which must be respected by all without exception. There must be respect for party and political pluralism within the PLO. There must be respect for opinions and opposing opinions. Everybody, above all brother Abu-'Ammar [Yasir 'Arafat], must display practical concern for collective command. National unity is our most prominent weapon against our enemy and in facing the requirements of this difficult phase.

All this is necessary and is an indication of seriousness in practicing national unity. If we talk about national unity and practice a divisive policy, we weaken national unity.

We are not against the principle of negotiations. You know this very well. However, there are negotiations and there are negotiations.

Our second weapon is the intifadah, which has gained momentum in a democratic way in the past few weeks. We must learn how to intensify the intifadah.

There can be no successful negotiations if the masses are inactive. The intifadah has regained its momentum and the masses are active on the streets.

Developing the balance of power depends on two factors: national unity and the intifadah.

We are not opposed to the negotiations. We are not against political solutions. We are advocates of negotiated solutions. Since 1974 we have been seeking a negotiated solution entitled: "Removal of the occupation from the territories seized in 1967 without the relinquishment of any of our national rights, especially those international legitimacy has given us; namely, the right of return and self-determination."

At the 20th session of the Palestine National Council, we defined the bases from which we must proceed. Regrettably, due to the fact that we have not adhered to these bases, conflict and division have arisen among us. This conflict must be stopped. Let us adhere to unanimous decisions. Let us adhere to decisions that enable us to engage in negotiations according to national interests. The conditions imposed on us were unfair. We said we would struggle to overcome them. We achieved some steps on the level of contacts between the Palestinians inside and outside. I remember that we met with the delegation in Algiers under very secret conditions. We now meet with the delegation publicly. At the October meeting [not further identified], we in the DFLP submitted a proposal calling on the Central Council to name the members of the delegation, provided it is a delegation from Jerusalem, the West Bank, the Gaza Strip, and the diaspora. However, others adopted the Madrid formula.

We call on the Central Council to announce that this delegation is the PLO delegation negotiating all points concerning the national rights according to [international] legitimacy resolutions, not on the basis of the U.S. letter of invitation. We also demand that the negotiations not remain under the aegis of the U.S. letter of invitation, which still constitutes the only reference to the Palestinian-Israeli negotiations.

The Americans say that Resolution 242 does not apply to the transitional stage. Let us announce that the delegation is the PLO delegation and let the delegation announce at the negotiating table that it is negotiating on the basis of international legitimacy resolutions, not on the U.S. letter of invitation.

We proposed rectifying the process so that it would be based on international legitimacy and the rectification of Palestinian representation. This has all been rejected.

We call on the Central Council to adopt a measure at this meeting. This will create a unified basis for everyone to return to. This will augment the blessed intifadah. This is first. Second, in its meeting on 24 January 1992, the Executive Council formed the following resolution, which Executive Committee endorsed: There should be no shift in the agenda of negotiations with the Israeli enemy before three issues have been decided:

1. The extraction of U.S. and Israeli recognition that Resolution 242 applies to the occupied Palestinian territories. Israel should determine whether we are talking about occupied Palestinian territories or Judaea and Samaria. If the answer is Judaea and Samaria, we will not negotiate.

2. We will not begin discussions on any point on the agenda before a comprehensive halt to the settlement building is implemented. The settlement building process is continuing under the Rabin government, there is still a distinction being made between security and political [settlements], and 39,111 donums of land have been confiscated. What will remain for negotiation if the settlement building continues?

3. We will not discuss any item on the agenda unless Israel declares its respect for the fourth Geneva Convention.

Despite all this, we have heard continuous calls saying: Let us leave the basics and engage in negotiations with Israel on secondary issues. The Madrid camp has actually responded to the U.S. negotiating theory by forwarding several (?elementary) plans, which we demanded be canceled. We also were among those who refused to submit any plans before deciding on the three basic issues. If negotiations are not conducted on these bases, on what basis can they be conducted?

Let us remember that the Lebanese, Jordanians, Egyptians, and Syrians took Resolution 242 as a framework for negotiations. We relied only on the letter of invitation—administrative self-rule—and representation according to the Madrid formula. Other delegations were represented comprehensively.

We are not opposed to negotiations. Opinions and opposing opinions should be respected. What, however, has become of the national common denominators—the resolutions of the Palestine National Council, the Central Council, the Palestinian leadership, and the Executive Committee? They have all been broken.

We will defend the PLO, reform its institutions, and rectify the course of negotiations. We call for suspending the negotiations for as long as the enemy refuses to apply Resolution 242 to all phases of the Palestinian-Israeli negotiations; refuses to halt settlement building; rejects the application of the Geneva Convention to the occupied territories; and refuses our people's full representation from Jerusalem, the West Bank, the Gaza Strip, and the diaspora.

We call on the Council to announce that we suspend participation in the seventh round of negotiations until Israel recognizes the basics of negotiations and that we are equal with the Jordanians, Syrians, and Lebanese in terms of the negotiations' bases and comprehensive representation.

The Democratic Front [for the Liberation of Palestine—DFLP] throughout the occupied homeland and in the diaspora, guided by the light of our martyrs' spirits, the intifadah, the revolution, and our heroic prisoners—foremost of whom is hero 'Ubaydat, the martyr of captivity and hunger strike—calls for a referendum of the Palestinian people inside the homeland and in the diaspora on the Madrid formula and the current course of negotiations. We ask that the results of this referendum be respected.

The DFLP calls on the Central Council to refer the referendum issue to the United Nations and impartial international personalities to devise a practical mechanism to implement it.

We call on the Central Council to be removed from the policy of a PLO wing that places obstacles to a referendum; the homeland's and people's fate is on the altar of the Madrid formula. Let us allow the people to decide and submit to their will.

Those who are opposed under the guise of the Central Council must see and hear the referenda held for nations around us although they have their democratic and elected parliaments on issues less fateful that the crossroads at which the homeland is passing while our people's national rights are under the roof of the Madrid formula and the U.S. letter of invitation.

Abu-'Ammar: I support every word Taysir Khalid said.

Dr. Ahmad Sidqi al-Dajjani: I will talk today about the ongoing negotiations process. I had my own view with regard to the timing of this process. We should have assessed the basis that was set for the process. This is the cause of the problem and the cause of our current suffering.

We must delineate the course and safeguard the issue. I recall two facts about the negotiations process, or any negotiations process. Recalling negotiations about Resolution 242, Mahmud Riyad [former Arab League secretary general] once told me that he was once asked by a colleague what he brought to the talks. He replied: What you have brought?

If we ignore this lesson, negotiations would become a worthless process of torment. Our people were engaged in a negotiations process from 1920 to 1930. Britain used to change a letter and continue the negotiations process. Only those who are aware of the details will win the negotiations.

If we assess our performance in the negotiations after the sixth round, I would frankly say that we made considerable positive steps, particularly during the first round. I

wonder what the delegation has achieved in an entire year. The memorandum our delegation presented to dear Mr. Baker contains 40 demands, called measures of confidence. How many of these demands have been achieved? Persecution and killing have escalated and the treatment of prisoners has deteriorated. Why was nothing done concerning these issues when this is an era of human rights? Then came the uprising of the detainees. This must be used as the condition required for continuing the negotiations process. We support political action; the United States holds the keys. Why aren't there regular discussions between the United States and the delegation when contacts with the PLO are severed?

Some brothers spoke of the current impasse. The seventh round of talks is important for the following reasons:

1. Because the United States is committed to doing something.

2. Because it is election time.

3. Because of the Middle East situation.

The seventh round is unique and we need to discuss it in detail. Baker's plan governs the seventh round:

1. Halting the settlement building in return for the loans.

2. Israel's commitment to set a date for withdrawal.

3. Halting the intifadah in return for a withdrawal from the cities.

4. Starting the disengagement of forces in the Golan Heights.

5. Canceling the Arab boycott of Israeli companies.

6. An international administration of the holy places.

7. Reaching a Jordanian-Palestinian-Israeli agreement.

Rabin's government has shaped its program within the confines of this plan. Resolution 242 is ambiguous and the United States has given each party the right to interpret the resolution as it wishes.

In the seventh round, we should expect a proposal to hold (non-legislative) political elections under the supervision of the U.S. Congress.

Your council has to discuss the possible outcome of the seventh round and advise the delegation. Autonomy is a word that is like the word Bantustan. We would be looking at two parts in the West Bank and Gaza and a third, which would be a collection of Bantustans divided by settlements.

Why shouldn't we suspend the negotiations if nothing is achieved?

Hani al-Hasan: It is the struggle of strategies. Each one wants to crush the other. It is a merciless stage. We ask ourselves this question in this struggle: What if the United States comes on 27 October and presents its proposals to reconcile between the plans?

They want us to lose hope of achieving anything through violence and to accept the Israeli conditions. How do we foil Rabin's policy? Rabin's aim is not to withdraw from the occupied areas. I understood quite well what brothers Bashir al-Barghuti and Abu-al-'Abd have spoken about. Rabin went to the Golan because it is the U.S.-Israeli-Syrian convergence point.

Rabin wants to make concessions in the Golan, Lebanon, and Gaza so as not to give up anything in the West Bank. The Syrians have not presented a single paper to the Israelis for an entire year. The Israelis have presented four papers.

Who are our enemies? The enemy is Israel and Israel alone. Syria, Iran, and Jordan are not our enemies. There is only one enemy: Israel. The enemy might say that it will leave Gaza. I bear witness that brother Abu-'Ammar was offered an Israeli withdrawal from Gaza in 1990. But brother Abu-'Ammar rejected this, saying: Either withdraw from all territories or none. We should ponder this well. I am surprised to read a statement by 'Azmi al-Shu'aybi that they have given us many things. I am surprised when somebody says that they are ready to share power or share water. This is impermissible.

Abu-'Ammar: First, I must begin by extending a special greeting to my brother Abu-'Ali and the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine and my brothers in the DFLP. Some believed that this Central Council would explode and become a council of conflicts. The expectations proved untrue; the Palestinian body is immune.

Some developments have taken place during 48 hours of terrible international pressure. The latest was a message Abu-Mazin received from the Russian ambassador, who said that the American sponsor shared the opinion expressed in the message. What is this opinion? We held a meeting of the Executive Committee, the Council's bureau, the Palestinian leadership, and the delegation and discussed the agenda we have agreed upon. We viewed Jerusalem and its place in everything that is taking place and the number of Palestine National Council members from inside the territories, if our plan for PISGR [Palestinian Interim Self-Government Regime] is realized. We are being offered political general elections. I say: No, no, no. Legislative elections or nothing. It means an independent state. I know I went to Madrid under difficult terms, and I did not go so Dr. Haydar 'Abd-al-Shafi could sign Jerusalem away. I refused to take Gaza back because it does not lead to Jerusalem. My people have been fighting for scores of years. Are we to give up Jerusalem now? No one will have mercy on us. Therefore, we said that Jerusalem should be the number one topic on the agenda. We must launch a counterattack against what they are trying to impose on us. We have been in exile 43 years; let it be 45 or 50. I am aware of the hardships facing our brothers in the occupied areas. I am aware of the hardships facing

our brothers in Lebanon and in Kuwait. Taysir Khalid is a witness to the death threat I received.

I have learned patriotism from this leader, Shaykh Dr. Haydar. No one can say that Dr. Haydar will yield. None of our Palestinian people will allow our rights to be ignored. I was surprised when I heard Dr. Haydar saying: As our leader says. Dr. Haydar and his brothers must not be defamed.

Wide-scale international efforts have been made to prompt us not to adopt a decision regarding Jerusalem and complete the membership of the Palestine National Council. The two sponsors of the conference say no decision should be made on this issue. We went to Moscow led by al-Maqdisi, and the Executive Committee delegation comprised Yasir, Sulayman, and Taysir which did not go [sentence as published]. A dead resolution, No. 194, was revived at the refugee committee.

Whoever does not understand the changes will be run over by the wheel of history. The Israelis began by not understanding the changes. They tried to be deceptive.

We are facing a new era and a new order. The world will not be led by America. It will not be led on one leg. New forces are emerging. Bush is facing a challenge in the elections, which is the economy. The Soviet Union is the greatest military power in the world with some 23,000 nuclear warheads. It collapsed because of its economic situation. Bush's problem is due to the collapse of his economic policy. We want our heads to remain above the water until the flood recedes. Israel no longer has the same strategic importance. I am not avoiding a clash. The Gulf war proved that Israel is no longer as important as it once was.

Peace has become a necessity for those who possess oil in the region. We are a weak party, but not a weak power. When Rabin raised the stakes, I said the Palestinian areas in the Golan, al-Hammah. [sentence as published]. In 1963 a proposal was made to al-Shuqayri [former Palestinian leader] to establish a Palestinian state in the Golan. Al-Khiyam land is Palestinian land. I support a comprehensive Arab solution. We will not accept an interim period, not two or five years. Some 40,000 Palestinians were deported during the Gulf war.

We must understand the new world order has to reach an understanding with parties in the world it defeated. It has established a Russian, Asian, and Arab fund [preceding five words in English]. They want the Arabs to pay. Are we part of the equation or are we irrelevant? I returned from Jakarta with optimism: The poor stood against the rich, the South stood against the North. A new Nonaligned Movement has been launched. We must work for a unified Arab position. We were behind the four-way Arab meeting and the five-way meeting. We will continue to work to reconstruct the Arab home so that the new world order will not be built at our expense. The Balkanization of Yugoslavia is a tragic development; Bosnia-Hercegovina is divided between Serbs and Croats.

How can we confront all this? We can do it only through our unity. This 85th meeting reflects our unity. I agree with what my brother al-Dajani has said: We must find a formula; the intifadah must continue wave after wave. In 1988, Gorbachev asked me: Will the intifadah continue for two more moths? He wanted to use the intifadah card in his talks with Reagan. Ponamaryov [not further identified] asked me: Where are you going after Beirut? I said: To my country.

Every negotiating process has its method. The negotiations conducted by Haydar have their own style, and the 1982 Beirut negotiations had their own. We are the only Arab side that negotiates and fights at the same time.

In a meeting I had with (Iranian President) Rafsanjani in Jakarta, he said he would support the opposition forces. I told him that those who dropped the jihad option [in the Islamic conference] in Dakar cannot raise the banner of jihad. Rafsanjani dropped jihad. One [referring to Iran] may stand putting its signature beside those of the 10 [reference to the Palestinian factions opposed to peace negotiations], but it is intolerable to seek Iran's assistance. If someone wants to play the game of the Zulu tribes, they must understand that I am not Nelson Mandela. No one can fool us. Attempts are being made to create a rift between the Palestinian liberation movement and the Islamic movement.

I am not optimistic about the seventh round [of the peace talks]. Shall we go or not? I have no answer. All options are open. We will not relinquish Jerusalem. We always change the rules of the game. They are bargaining with us over the five working groups within the multilaterals. What shall we do about the seventh round, especially now that we have reached a deadlock?

As I said in Amman, if they do not agree to legislative elections, we will appoint Palestine National Council members, one-quarter from the factions and one-quarter from popular organizations.

The Third Session on the Morning of 16 October 92

Abu-'Ali Mustafa [Mustafa al-Zabri]: Every time we meet and talk, we are frank. From yesterday's speeches, I cited a statement by one of our colleagues who says: Why do we not speak inside as we do outside? Frankness should come first. Disagreement on a clear issue is better that disagreement on a vague issue.

It has almost been a year since the political process began, and the gap between our stands still exists. Developments have not changed our convictions. Let every one remember his discussions at the Palestine National Council session and the arguments he used in presenting his views. Many spoke about the approaching danger of settlement as a prelude to a certain policy. My question is: How do we justify our participation in the

political process? Is it not correct for us to reconsider the situation and see where we stand now? We would not do this to reject anything, but to seriously consider and criticize our actions.

Where do we stand on some statements that are still being reiterated? In his debate, my brother Abu-al-Lutf [PLO Political Department head Faruq Qaddumi] said: The idea of sharing the posts has demised. We believe that papers on this issue are still hidden in some people's drawers. The second page [of the debate] said: We must seize this historic opportunity following the end of the third [as published] world war to achieve our provisional goals. Is this vision realistic? We believe that the current situation is more difficult than in the past. Under the current situation, it is difficult to achieve a provisional goal, and I am afraid we will drown ourselves with incorrect estimates.

My brother Abu-Mazin says that experience has proved the failure of the Zionist theory. Is this true? A few days ago Rabin said: We must work to increase Israel's population to 7 million by the year 2000. Yet we still hear statements about a political stand on the opposition, which should not come as a surprise. We hope to hear a rectification of these at this meeting. Abu-Mazin said we have covered 80 percent of the points of difference. Is this true?

In yesterday's debate, brother Abu-Mazin said he has not heard one single alternative. We have offered an alternative; it is international legitimacy and the PLO institutions.

Article 8 of the Central Council's statement in May mentioned that the Council will revise the situation if no tangible progress with about returning to the Security Council is made; in other words, the Council presented an alternative.

Yesterday, I heard my brother Sa'ib ['Urayqat, a member of Palestinian delegation to peace talks] speak about dividing the Palestinian people. I do not accuse anyone here of working for this end. This has nothing to do with good intentions. The proposed solutions divide the Palestinian people. Let me refer you to the text of the [Palestine] National Council resolution in its 20th session. The Council's decision to form a delegation aimed to bridge this gap. The resolution stipulated the PLO's right to form the Palestinian delegation from inside and outside the homeland, including Jerusalem, a measure that asserts the PLO's authority.

I heard someone asking if there anything hidden. I also heard someone say that there is a devised scenario ready for signature before the end of October. Is that true? What issue does the U.S. Administration seek to put on the negotiating table?

The next round is the most serious, and the Bush administration wants to win some cards to use in the election campaign.

I heard, though I am not certain it is true, that a meeting took place in London among Palestinians, Israelis, and Americans in which some kind of formulas were discussed. Is that true?

As regards the dangers resulting from the continuation of this path, we say that nothing has changed. So far, we believe that the continuation of this course poses the following dangers: First, the perpetuation of occupation; second, the halting the intifadah and bringing down its option of independence, although some people have mourned the intifadah and exaggerated its negative aspects; third, the danger of the settlement project and eliminating the right of return [of the Palestinian people] probably to Lebanon, and there is a genuine concern about this in the circles of our people; fourth, the disruption of the Palestinian people's unity, which has nothing to do with good intentions; and fifth, the normalization of Arab-Israeli relations to increase Israel's political, economic, and cultural influence in the region.

As regards our view of the proposals, we call on the delegation to withdraw from the ongoing negotiations, refer the issue to international institutions, and consider an Israeli withdrawal and end of settlements the only basis for a political solution.

We hope your Council will agree on a referendum for the Palestinian people on the current political process. This is a weapon in our hand in the face of those who raise false slogans about human rights. How will this be accomplished? I do not have an answer. Let us begin and we will see how it materializes. This is a strength for our Palestinian people. We do not propose this [referendum] on the outcome of the process, but rather on the whole process. The referendum should be conducted both inside and outside [the occupied territories].

We in the Popular Front will not put on record a position or absolve anyone. We say something and pay the price. I hope no one will say that we do not do that. We are not like that. We do not call for coups so that decisions can be made. Let us be frank with one another. Bastions fall from within. Political unity should be built on a political basis. We in the Popular Front have a feeling that there are plans to eliminate the political program. I will no longer call for a vote in the PLO Central Council. This institution is being marginalized. In closed rooms, everyone says that the PLO Central Council is Abu-'Ammar and that Abu-'Ammar is the PLO Central Council. We made a decision in 1989 to elect a president and called for defining the president's powers. Has this been done? If we fail to bridge the loopholes and defects, our bastion will collapse because of bureaucracy and the absence of democracy. Why do we not examine ourselves? Do you not fear a day when your people wonder about the PLO? This is the meaning of genuine national unity.

Yesterday Hani said he hopes that this meeting will be the end of the group of the 10 organizations [opposed to the peace process]. I would like to say that this is a group

of patriots. We determined at the meeting of the 10 organizations that our task is to confront the administrative self-rule [al-hukm al-idari] within the PLO framework. The 10 organizations are against the Madrid-Washington course. I said that we do not accept any framework as a substitute to the PLO. We called on all organizations to participate within the framework of the PLO. I call for a comprehensive national dialogue. We should not hesitate if there is to be an expanded and open political dialogue. When you, Dr. Samir Ghawshah, talk of coming under custodianship, you have no right to say what you think. You came under custodianship with us when we were in the democratic alliance together. We were under custodianship then. Do not take Iran, Syria, and the accusations lightly. There are real problems. We have no ties with Iran. Regarding my political position, I have a right to marshal all forces and anyone who has opposite views has a right to pool all forces. However, I will not allow anyone to abolish the PLO's political program. We cannot ignore the people when issuing a decision. I exhort you to carefully examine every political step. Our people's fate is in your hands and our people are worried and apprehensive.

Nabil Sha'th said: I agree that what the enemy has offered does not constitute the minimum, and we are not required to offer anything in return. However, allow me to declare my objection to shielding ourselves behind our PLO Central Council, for if we do so we will be making a mistake. This line of thinking is totally erroneous. It is defensive, not offensive, thinking. We used to reject Security Council Resolutions 338 and 242 and now we are shielding ourselves behind Resolution 242. Why? Why are we not guided by this resolution. We did not shield ourselves in 1967, we attacked.

After 1973, we pursued an offensive policy: the 10-point program and the phased program, and we continued on this line after the Palestine National Council meeting in Amman in 1984. Israel is retreating. Despite this fact, you insist that we are unable to confront it. In 40 years, the Israelis created facts while we talked about principles. You cannot win battles with principles, you must take the offensive. Generalizations will not solve the problem. If we do not move forward we will lose unless we allow the virginity complex [reference to a refusal to negotiate with Israel] to govern us. We used to always follow principles in formulating our plans.

Who said that if the enemy withdraws from a village south of Khan Yunis we will not take it? We will take it and pay nothing in return. I am not prepared to barter Gaza for a street in Jerusalem.

We are coordinating with our Jordanian brothers and the Arabs, but we will adhere to the Palestinian track, because it expresses our national independence. We will cling to any gain we make.

We have questions that we must answer. Why did we enter [the peace talks]? We replied that we entered not to ward off dangers or in response to two parties. We entered because we found out that what happened on the international arena provides us with an opportunity. The Eritreans took advantage of an opportunity. Our brothers in Sudan took advantage of an opportunity and liberated the south. In Namibia, the people took advantage of an opportunity and accepted a [solution] with certain conditions that some people believe to be unfair. People should take advantage of opportunities and realize the rules of the available game. We have the opportunity to negotiate on Resolution 242 without giving up other resolutions. We can play according to these conditions and break barriers.

Abu-'Ammar objected to Sha'th's remark on Resolution 242, asserting that Resolution 242 is the basis. Sha'th said: "The resolution can be implemented in the final stage, but during the transitional stage we can be guided by it. When the final stage comes, we could call for the implementation of Resolution 242 and be guided by Resolutions 181, 194." Abu-'Ammar again objected saying: "The Israeli negotiator agreed to implement Resolution 242 on the Golan Heights so why he should not agree to it on the occupied Palestinian territories? I asked if Resolution 242 will apply to the entire Golan Heights. So far, we have not received an answer. Resolution 242 is the basis of negotiations and the starting point." Abu 'Ammar emphatically added: "If they do not agree to Resolution 242, there will be no negotiations."

Sha'th continued: We use Resolution 242 as a weapon when it comes to a discussion of the details. There is, however, a difference between holding one's ground and taking the offensive. We will not be satisfied with Resolution 242, because our rights go beyond this. Resolution 242 is not the sum of our ambitions. Phrases are often taken out of context. We will not retreat one inch from Resolution 242. I say, however, that using Resolution 242 as a point of reference is necessary when negotiating the details. It is necessary to use it aggressively to delineate the boundaries of the jurisdiction [preceding word in English]. It is also necessary to use it aggressively regarding the issues of Jerusalem, settlements, authority, and other issues.

We negotiated with Shamir, from 1 November [1991] until April [1992], and then with Rabin, from August until the end of September. Shamir did not intend to negotiate. He was deceiving the world.

Granting the loan guarantees is something that we do not accept under any conditions. Consider this: U.S. law says that settlement-building in all the Palestinian and Arab territories must stop. The U.S. President can determine that Israel has violated the loans' conditions, and he can halt them.

When Rabin came to power, we expected him to bring something new. Israel gives issues (concessions) in public but does not do so at the negotiating table. Beilin [Israeli

deputy foreign minister] announced that Israel will withdraw from the cities. Nothing ever takes place on the ground.

Why did this happen? Because Rabin was negotiating with the Americans over the loan guarantees and also wanted to appease his coalition allies. Rabin's understanding of the concept of self-rule is ambiguous. Self-rule was basically a Likud idea; it permits the maintenance of a minority on Israeli territory until the time comes to expel it. The Labor Party, on the other hand, is speaking of a solution involving territorial compromise and not autonomy. Labor wants a partial solution: total peace in return for a part of the territory. How can it harmonize a Likudite idea with the compromise of a territorial solution? This illustrates Rabin's predicament. If he accepts [Palestinian] jurisdiction over the entire territory, he contradicts his plan for territorial compromise. During the negotiations, we must keep up the pressure, especially in connection with Rabin's predicament. Rabin proposed a plan that we rejected. Regrettably, some of our comrades inside the territories accepted it. We rejected it entirely.

Rabin proposed a new plan on 14 September. Let us consider all these proffered plans and the dozens of concessions offered that might be trivial and merely intended to deceive us. We must examine some of the concessions that we obtained by being aggressive. The Israelis backed down on the following: 1. They abandoned Shamir's symbolism, such as using the terms Judea and Samaria; now they speak of Palestinian territory. 2. The administrative council must be elected by the Palestinian electorate; they admitted that it will be responsible, and the people will be the source of power. 3. They acknowledged that the council has executive, not merely administrative, powers. 4. They acknowledged the courts' judicial powers. 5. They are still refusing to use the term full legislative power but have agreed that the council can issue bylaws [preceding word in English]. 6. They accepted negotiations over land and water. 7. Their demand for coordination means that we should cooperate with them on matters of mutual concern that will be determined in due course. 8. They are speaking of making exceptions regarding jurisdiction, such as Jerusalem and the settlements. 9. They have admitted that Resolution 242 is the reference point in the final stage. 10. They agreed to abolish the civil administration without dismantling the laws. 11. They allowed Jordanian-Palestinian cooperation on religious trusts. 12. They allowed Jordanian participation in the final signing, together with the Palestinians. 13. For the first time, the Jordanian role. [sentence as published] 14. They spoke of the transitional council's role in foreign relations.

Negative points: 1. No commitment to implement Resolution 242. 2. No clarity about the form of the final status. 3. Jerusalem. 4. Security. 5. Jordan's role is not clear. 6. They are speaking of the remaining powers. This pile of deception on our or their part. [sentence as published]

Regarding the agenda [preceding word in English]

1. They backed down regarding detailed plans of action. Formerly their agenda was entirely composed of detailed plans of action. 2. Determining the objective of the negotiations, Resolution 242 in the final phase. 3. For the first time since we began discussing jurisdiction, we had the opportunity to raise certain issues, including Jerusalem. 4. For the first time, they made a reference to Palestinians, using the preposition of [preceding word in English] instead of in [preceding word in English]. This signifies the possibility of the return of the displaced people of 1967, the Palestinians of territories [preceding three words in English]. 5. Instead of using the term authorizing [tafwid] power, they used the term taking over [istilam]. They are, however, still rejecting many issues.

The informal talks:

In the informal committees or during the intervals between the rounds of negotiations.

1. Readiness to carry out a total withdrawal from Gaza. 2. Willingness to abandon control over the territory in the populated areas. 3. Willingness to change the laws. 4. Willingness to expand the council and change its name, a parliament surveying a government. 5. Willingness to withdraw from residential areas. 6. Willingness to give up territory. 7. Willingness to discuss the framework of the jurisdiction.

Salih Zaydan (the Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine)

I would like to underline two issues affecting the Palestinian situation in Lebanon:

1. The essential issue is that of resettlement in Lebanon, which means displacement. The issue of naturalization and other such issues being proposed are merely an attempt to stir up Palestinian- Lebanese sedition. As far as we are concerned, the solution is clear: no resettlement, which is within the context of our rejection of administrative autonomy plans and others; hence, our commitment, from which we do not deviate, to our national rights to return and to national independence and our commitment to achieving unity in the national Lebanese-Palestinian ranks.

2. The second issue concerns the other aspect of this question; namely, the bad economic and social situation that is pressing on our people and pushing some sectors to emigrate. The PLO should shoulder its responsibility toward this situation, especially toward the martyrs' families and in the fields of reconstruction, medicine, and education.

Despite the importance of these issues, I will deal with the main issue haunting our people in Lebanon, particularly the political aspect.

We have listened to several of our brothers who are concerned with the ongoing negotiations process, which

shows the objectives of the U.S-backed Israeli plan to undermine our people's rights and confine it to administrative autonomy for the residents of the West Bank and the Gaza Strip. This is going on under an unprecedented U.S. bias toward Israel, as shown by the outcome of the Bush-Rabin meeting (granting the $10-billion loan guarantees, pledging to maintain Israel's qualitative superiority, strengthening the strategic alliance, and guaranteeing Israel's security). This negates all the illusions of relying on an American-Israeli disagreement in our favor.

From the details given about the ongoing negotiations process and from the statements about being guided by Resolution 242 in the negotiations as mentioned by brother Nabil Sha'th—and there is a clear difference between being guided and the adoption of Resolution 242 as the basis for the negotiations—and from the proposal for an agreement on the framework for the autonomy arrangements, we have sensed that there is a readiness to enter into the details of these arrangements without relying on the international legitimacy resolutions.

Confining the discussions to a draft agreement on the framework of autonomy contradicts the Palestine National Council's resolutions, which set up six principles for the ongoing political process. None of these principles have been achieved, which is threatening our national rights and paving the way for the resettlement and displacement schemes, regardless of any good intentions. This plan is not compatible with resolutions already adopted by the organization's bodies. The organization resolved that Israel should withdraw from the occupied territories in accordance with Resolution 242, halt the settlements, and apply the fourth Geneva convention, in addition to several observations on the same plan. These resolutions do not write off sovereignty over the land but demand control. There is no insistence on holding legislative elections or achieving linkage during the solution phases, and the issue of removing the settlements is being overlooked.

Brothers, we do not know how the intifadah and armed struggle will continue if administrative autonomy is approved. Its danger is certainly evident here, as well as that of the resettlement and displacement of our people inside the occupied territories.

Brothers, I say frankly that approving this plan in this way and according to the unjust bases of negotiations will pave the way for normalizing Arab-Israeli relations, diminishing the international interest in our cause. It will make it lose the principal elements of pressure, which will let Israel impose the temporary solution as the final one, a solution that will make the Israeli occupation of our Palestinian territories permanent.

While declaring our opposition to the course and bases for holding the ongoing negotiations, we also oppose partial or unilateral solutions on any of the Arab fronts. Let us say clearly that the dangerous turning point through which our cause is now passing requires a policy based on the common national denominators and national consensus, both of which provide the firm basis for national unity, not the numerical majority that does not satisfy the required purpose of strengthening national unity.

Brothers, based on our commitment to the PLO and the singularity of its representation, we call for a declaration of withdrawal from the negotiations that are proceeding based on the unfair Madrid- Washington formula. We also call on the Arab parties to show solidarity with this position. We also call for nonparticipation in the seventh round and for withdrawing the draft agreement on the framework of autonomy arrangements, which was presented by the Palestinians. We also insist on basing the negotiations on the international legitimacy resolutions.

We also call for holding a referendum among the Palestinian people inside and outside the territories on any agreement that might be reached. We call for strengthening national unity within the PLO framework through a comprehensive national dialogue that includes all the national and Islamic forces. We also underline the importance of mobilizing all our people's resources to escalate and back the intifadah.

The Fourth Session

Haydar 'Abd-al-Shafi: I was moved by the speeches by brother Abu-'Ali Mustafa and Taysir Khalid. They were objective and sincere. I also thank brother Abu-'Ammar for dealing objectively and democratically with what is being raised. Brother Abu-'Ali spoke about national unity and the peace process. Regarding the most important issue, the Palestinians in the occupied areas have become the main point of struggle. It is important to safeguard this point to maintain the intifadah, to face its burdens and the burdens resulting from the ferocity of the Israeli repression.

Negative signs have begun appearing in the intifadah for several reasons. I want to speak frankly. I met brother Abu-'Ammar in 1989. I also met with brother Hawatimah and Dr. George Habash. I talked with them, and I addressed a message to brothers Abu-'Ammar, George Habash, Nayif Hawatimah, and Bashir al-Barghuti. Nevertheless, no progress was made regarding coordination with the influential groups. Indiscipline began in the territories, as you know. Can anyone imagine that a family would be happy to hear a knock at the door in the middle of the night from the Israeli Army? When the infighting began in Gaza, the people were happy, because the Israeli Army imposed a curfew. There are numerous examples. The national movement's failure has produced negative signs in the intifadah. Instead of becoming a source of support, this political multiplicity has become a burden, which I regret but which is true. Abu-'Ali spoke about democracy and the importance of activating the PLO's institutions. I agree with him. Democracy is not what we see in this council. It means

forming action committees and questioning the executive apparatus. Actually, I was sad that Dr. Sha'th should speak at length and out of place to this big audience, and this turns up in the newspaper and on people's tongues. There is supposed to be a political committee or reports that are distributed. We must avoid these negative features to correct the situation.

I hope you will take my words seriously. I think that the issue of negotiations has taken more time than it deserves. I assure you that Israel thinks these people are dying. What prevents Israel from continuing its actions to destroy us? The peace process may not lead us anywhere, but if the people were able to manage their affairs, this divided people can become united inside and outside the territories. Israel will then have to think seriously, which will be reflected at the negotiating table. The issue is how we can enable the national and social fiber to stand fast. This is the task of the PLO forces, which should seek to get the other forces—the Salvation Front, Hamas, and al-Jihad—to join the national rank and participate in the decisionmaking process.

A word about relations with our Arab brothers. There are internal Palestinian affairs in which we do not allow interference. They affect our independence. On the other side there is coordination and consultation. We are in no position but to ask for Arab assistance and support. We do not need to engage in side battles with our Arab brothers.

The seventh round of Arab-Israeli peace negotiations is on the agenda. We participated in the process. It is being said that there has been something devised and that the United States has a plan. We as a delegation have not sensed that. We cannot have any connection. We will resist and expose all pressures. We are not responsible to you but to the Palestinian people. Do not be worried.

The military option is not on the agenda now, but this does not negate the right to exercise all the types of struggle.

I will talk about some of the concerns of the Palestinians outside the territories after we have talked at length about the Palestinians on the inside. In the territories the talk is about administrative self-rule, settlements, repression, affiliates, and institutions. Outside, the talk is about resettling the Palestinians, which is not just a political discussion, whether it will occur. Three formulas are being discussed in Lebanon about resettlement: The first is citizenship and resettlement, which is a U.S.-Israeli formula; the second is granting Palestinians the right for permanent residency as a community in Lebanon with rights and guarantees; and the third is a combination of the previous two formulas, dealing with the Palestinians as a community and dealing with citizenship gradually.

Change in Iranian Position on PLO Seen

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[Report by Yusuf al-Sharif]

[Text] It is now the turn of the PLO and the Palestinian issue to be stung by Iran's conspiratorial course and tactics of hegemony. Ahmad Khomeyni, general guide of the Islamic revolution, and Iranian Foreign Minister 'Ali Akbar Velayati recently held meetings in Tehran with two delegations. The first was with a Lebanese delegation led by Hizballah Secretary General Shaykh Hasan Nasrallah and the second was with a Palestinian delegation led by Dr. Musa Marzuq, representative of the secret command of the Islamic Resistance Movement in the occupied territories, Hamas. During these meetings, held under the slogan "consolidating the Islamic struggle against Israeli occupation," the Iranian leadership approved the two delegations' requests for financial aid of $20 million. Tehran will pay this amount in several installments to implement a political-military plan to wreck the Arab-Israeli peace talks, which are considered a capitulationist plot, and to enable Hamas to monopolize the leadership of the Palestinian intifadah.

These meetings that the Iranian political and religious leadership holds with Hizballah and Hamas are not new. They are held every six months to follow up and assess the situation in southern Lebanon and the occupied territories and to receive Tehran's instructions on strengthening the Iranian influence against Syrian and the Fatah leadership.

Cooperating with Syria and through its organizational and ideological links with Hizballah, Iran played a key role in securing the release of European and U.S. hostages held by Shiite groups in southern Lebanon. Observers believe this Iranian initiative was not a new political stand, but a political deal that brought material benefit and promoted certain mutual interests.

Pro-Iranian Shiite groups still oppose the central government's plan to disarm the militias, spread its influence over southern Lebanon, and deploy the Lebanese Army there to shoulder the responsibility of defending the country against Israeli attacks in implementation of al-Ta'if accord. Such a deployment will rob Israel of any pretext for continuing its occupation of Lebanese territory in defense of its security.

Inside the occupied territories, the Palestinian intifadah erupted spontaneously and intensified through cooperation by the various local national forces. The intifadah chose its leaders and developed its means of struggle, but the necessities of coordinating and receiving aid from abroad dictated that the intifadah be organizationally and politically loyal to the PLO under Yasir 'Arafat's leadership.

At first there were no problems concerning the escalation of intifadah activity, despite the political rivalry between

Fatah and Hamas over the leadership of the Palestinian people in the occupied territories. The leadership was united, the national objectives were clear, and the means of struggle were agreed upon. Even the process of hunting down the traitors and putting them on trial was subject to disciplined security and judicial measures and the traitors were given a chance to repent.

This continued until the Palestine National Council [PNC] approved the option of peace through direct negotiations with Israel. Hamas and some Palestinian factions reneged on the principle of democratic consensus. The rivalry between Hamas and Fatah intensified, ranging from political battles to gunfights to physical liquidation through the mouths of guns. Hamas assassinated scores of innocent people on the pretext of collaborating with the Israeli occupation authorities or on the pretext of being loyal to Fatah and supporting the peace process. These innocent people were assassinated without being interrogated and without fair trial. This encouraged Israel to exploit the rivalry to liquidate intifadah activists and leaders through assassination squads wearing Arab dress and speaking Arabic. Israel housed the collaborators and others hunted by Hamas in the village of Fahmah.

At the beginning of the Islamic revolution under Ayatollah Khomeyni, Iran declared it had decided to dedicate all its political, military, and economic resources to liberating Palestine from Israeli occupation. Iran declared it had become a confrontation state. It gifted the Israeli Embassy building during the shah's regime to the PLO to make it a headquarters for its mission in Tehran. But Iran, in President Rafsanjani's era, completely changed its political stand on the PLO after it accepted the peace process. Iran accused the PLO of capitulating to the Israeli-American plot. At the recent Islamic summit conference in Dakar, Iran voted against a resolution to declare a holy war to liberate Jerusalem. Yasir 'Arafat told me he went to see President Rafsanjani to draw his attention to Iran's stand conflicting with the Islamic revolution's course. Rafsanjani said: We did not understand the resolution's content. Rafsanjani refused to change his stand.

Neutral Palestinian sources have confirmed that Iran has leaked to Hamas forged reports about a secret agreement between the PLO and Israel, reached through mediating parties, to liquidate the Hamas leadership as a condition for agreeing to Palestinian autonomy in the peace talks. The pretext for this was that Israel and the West fear the danger that the Islamic fundamentalist trend represented by Hamas poses to stability and their security and interests in the region.

Iran has leaked the same forged reports to the 10 Palestinian groups that have withdrawn from the PLO or stopped attending its meetings, saying they have been excluded from the autonomy elections. Iran did so to urge these factions to adhere to their rejection of the peace process, a stand that was their main issue of discussion at a meeting in Damascus on 13 September, when the representatives of Hamas, the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine, the Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine, and the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine—General Command stressed the need to prevent the Palestinian masses from reaching the ballot boxes, because they regard autonomy as catastrophic for the Palestinian cause and as spelling the end of these factions.

Yasir 'Arafat has told me: The Palestinian delegation's withdrawal from the negotiations is out of the question, because what the Israelis want is to achieve peace with the Arab parties at the expense of the cause and the Palestinian people's legitimate rights. He added: It is in our interest to attend to improve the negotiating conditions, wrest an Israeli recognition of the PLO, expose its intransigent antipeace stand, and reduce the dangers facing our people in the occupied territories. He said: No power can force us to sign an agreement that does not achieve our political and historic rights to retrieve our usurped territories, including Jerusalem, and to set up our independent state.

The position taken by Fatah won, when several Palestinian opposition groups attended the PLO Central Council meeting in Tunisia recently.

Dr. Hasan al-Turabi, secretary general of the Islamic Front in Sudan, has invited Yasir 'Arafat to a meeting in Khartoum in November to discuss Fatah and the PLO's differences with Hamas. But Hamas official spokesman Engineer Ibrahim Ghawshah has ruled out the meeting following a fierce attack by 'Arafat on Hamas during his meeting with the PNC members in Amman, when he described Hamas as being like the Zulu tribe of South Africa. Ghawsah accused 'Arafat of working to limit Hamas' role in the peace negotiations from the start of the first round in Madrid.

On relations between Hamas and Iran, the opening of a Hamas office in Tehran, and the dispatch of 3,000 members for training in Iranian camps, Ghawsah said: Hamas has not offered itself as an alternative to the PLO, but this does not prevent us from establishing strong relations with countries or organizations that share our rejection of the settlement process and the peace negotiations.

But the PLO has caught Iran redhanded in penetrating the Palestinian forces that were evacuated to Yemen following the Israeli forces' invasion of Beirut. Iran recruited officer Muhammad al-Buhaysi, who was the political commissioner of these forces. He started to spread ideas inciting the fighters against the peace process, attracting the attention of the Palestinian revolution's security apparatus, which monitored him for some time until his ties and collaboration with Iran were exposed. He confessed in detail about this relationship and was put into the Sabra camp near Sanaa for trial.

ROSE AL-YUSUF has learned that al-Buhaysi has revealed several names in the network of Iranian penetration of Palestinian organizations. It was to this that Abu-Mazin [PLO Executive Committee member

Mahmud 'Abbas] referred in his speech to opposition groups at the PLO Central Council meeting in Tunisia, when he condemned double standards in the democratic practice in Lebanon and attacked Iran's interference in the PLO's internal affairs.

Iran is adhering to its constant denial of accusations of interference in Arab internal affairs or hostile intentions toward the Arabs.

How can you classify Iran's occupation and imposition of sovereignty over the United Arab Emirates' island of Abu Musa; the capture, during the seizure of Malakal [in south Sudan] last week, of seven Iranian military experts with the al-Nasir group, which seceded from John Garang's movement; and the arrest of al-Buhaysi and his detailed confession of collaborating with Iran to incite the Palestinian forces against the peace process?

Egypt

Mubarak Opens Parliamentary Session

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[Speech by Egyptian President Husni Mubarak at the joint session of the People's Assembly and Consultative Council in the People's Assembly hall in Cairo—live]

[Text] In the name of God, the compassionate, the merciful. Brothers and sisters, members of the People's Assembly and Consultative Council. It is a good omen that the opening of the new legislative session comes every year on the heels of our celebration of the glorious October victory, the greatest day of national dignity and the most immortal day of our national achievement. [applause] It is a good omen despite recent events. It is a good omen that our meeting today comes on the heels of the anniversary of the October War. There is nothing more splendid and more immortal than this heroic and glorious epic, which liberated our land and will power and in which the Egyptian people discovered their real substance and genuine mettle, restored their self-confidence, and realized they are capable of performing miracles.

Greetings to the men of the Armed Forces [applause], who wrote this immortal epic with their blood. Greetings to the noble Egyptian people, makers of heroes and upholders of principles, who have been fused by events, thus becoming more cohesive and united. They are not deterred by challenges or defeated by ordeals. In times of hardship they marshal their immense strength, become stronger, and double their ability to stand fast and confront challenges.

Brothers and sisters, it was God's will that Egypt should face a great national disaster, the consequences of which could have been much worse but for God's kindness and mercy. No one could stop an inevitable fate with which God wanted to test the will of a patient and faithful nation that struggles for a better future. No one could have calculated that Egypt would face such a disaster, given that throughout its history it has not faced an earthquake of such magnitude and strength. It is God's will, which we accept with patience and gratitude, because the losses, despite their magnitude, were not as great as in other countries where earthquakes destroy entire towns.

We accept God's will. We ask him to have mercy on those who were killed in this disaster. We ask him to give us patience and strength to face all its effects. We ask him to give us insight so that we will learn from its lessons and so Egypt will emerge from this disaster stronger and more faithful.

The earthquake occurred while I was on the first leg of a trip abroad to promote the country's interests. I had to return immediately regardless of any hardship so that I could be near our steadfast people so we could seek together to ease the suffering of the victims, face together the great losses caused by the disaster, and mobilize together all our resources to build what was destroyed, repair what was damaged, treat the injured, provide shelter for the homeless, and console those who lost relatives and friends.

From the first moment, I stressed that providing care for the earthquake's victims and removing its effects were the state's responsibility and duty. The state will shoulder this according to its ability. We have stressed our commitment to treat the injured and provide aid for those who have become disabled. We have stressed our commitment to provide shelter for those whose homes have collapsed. We have stressed our commitment to repair damaged schools and utilities. We have shouldered a burden that strong and big states could not shoulder. We consider this a commitment and a duty that we must perform.

Early estimates put the quake damage at 500 million pounds but recent estimates greatly exceed this figure and stand at over 2 billion pounds. This imposes on us urgent priorities giving precedence to those who have been left homeless by the earthquake. Immediately providing 20,000 new houses is beyond the capability of any major state. Nevertheless, we are trying our utmost to face this problem with urgency and to confront together the damage to over 1,000 schools that have to be rebuilt and to scores of archaeological sites that require immediate repair.

Under such difficult circumstances, it is unacceptable and impermissible for some to seek compensation that they do not deserve or to falsely include themselves among those who have suffered losses. The sadness that has gripped us over this momentous event and its painful effect on those who have lost relatives must not make us forget that Egypt has been able to cope strongly with the disaster that struck us like a thunderbolt that no one imagined or expected. The whole society—individuals, organizations, and establishments—has acted in a manner revealing the true mettle of this great people in times of hardship and crisis. Facing such circumstances for the first time, the Egyptian citizen has risen up to the level of the event, overcoming his inner fears, marshalling his forces, and mobilizing his will to help ease the pain and suffering of his neighbors and compatriots. He has stood with his compatriots in one trench, removing rubble, transporting the injured and dead, and hurrying to hospitals to donate blood to save the victims, and participating in offering condolences and easing the effects of the disaster.

The central and local agencies concerned were able to move actively, quickly, and free of any red tape to confront the various dimensions of the catastrophe by removing the earthquake's effects and providing shelter for anyone whose house had been proved destroyed or cracked.

The Egyptian Armed Forces took the initiative to place their resources and expertise at the people' disposal. University and Ministry of Health public hospitals managed to treat thousands of wounded and perform hundreds of delicate operations for a great number of them within hours with an extraordinary and exceptional effort by thousands of specialists, professors, and nurses. The Egyptian Red Crescent Institute carried out its duty to the fullest by providing relief efforts for the victims, collecting donations, and directing them to the proper purposes. [applause]

The Education Ministry closed schools to ensure the students' safety until all school buildings are checked by committees of senior university engineering professors. These committees' work has resulted to date in the closure of 1,343 schools requiring full reconstruction and the start of restoring around 2,546 schools that cracked because of the quake.

I take this opportunity to express sincere appreciation to our Egyptian Armed Forces [applause] for their great role in alleviating the impact of the catastrophe out of their sense of duty toward the nation and homeland. Thanks also go to the security and civil defense personnel [applause] who worked without sleep in a race with time, lifting the rubble and rescuing victims. Thanks also to first aid personnel and engineers [applause] who fearlessly rushed to work sites to alleviate the impact of the catastrophe on everyone. Thanks to Egyptians abroad who proved with their sincerity the faithfulness of nationalist loyalty. Thanks to everyone who gave his homeland at these crucial moments a heart full of love, goodness, and sensitivity to the sufferings of others.

All of Egypt stood as one entity full of solidarity and mercy. The able ones stretched a helping hand to the victims with a generous patriotic feeling driven by loyalty and duty. Everyone carried out his duty to his homeland with full awareness of the higher interest, with a deep sense of social and joint responsibility, with overwhelming feelings that the Egyptian people have become one in confronting the dangers of this catastrophe.

The grandness and loftiness of this stand was not affected by the fact that a small fraction of people deviated from the national consensus and attempted to exploit the catastrophe to achieve false and insignificant political gains that contradict our true national values. This small minority resorted to instigation and trading in the suffering of the victims and misleading them at a time when they most needed a good word and genuine condolences.

The overwhelming majority of our great nation adopted the correct stand, prompted by their nationalist conscience and moral assets and with spontaneous awareness of their joint responsibility for preserving the homeland's security and social peace.

Just as great as the Egyptian stand was the magnificent position of the brothers and friends in all the Arab countries and various parts of the world who rushed to offer genuine condolences, material assistance, and scientific and practical expertise in relief and rescue, renovating installations, and confronting the quake and limiting its damage.

On this occasion, we cannot but express in the name of every Egyptian man and woman the most sincere thanks and appreciation to the heads of fraternal Arab countries [applause] and friendly states in various parts of the world who stood by us from the first hours of the plight. We thank them for their sincere feelings and generous consolation which had the greatest impact upon us and demonstrated the magnitude of Egypt's standing in the hearts of leaders and nations alike.

The earthquake catastrophe revealed other facts that call for confidence and optimism. Egypt's utilities continued to function regularly and at full capacity. They did not stop for a moment despite the quake's intensity and force of destruction. All the infrastructure projects that had been renovated resisted the severe quake and were not affected. This is a sincere testimony to the efficient construction and good planning that built for Egypt great fortresses that withstood nature's severe tests.

Brothers and sisters, the quake catastrophe should not pass without our pausing to ponder many of our affairs with reason and impartiality. We should evaluate events to learn from them and absorb what happened at every moment to learn without prior judgment and bigotry about shortcomings and weaknesses in our preparedness to deal with catastrophes.

Brothers and sisters, we will not argue about the findings of scientists that Egypt is not within the scope of active quakes and that what happened recently may not recur for several hundred years if ever. These are matters linked to divine will and wisdom, but it is our duty not to ignore the need for precaution against potential hazards, even if they are rare.

The question of sound construction will impose itself forcefully for as long as greed still controls certain people, driving them without restraint or conscience to violate construction licenses and use material whose specifications do not meet the requirements for safe construction.

I call on your esteemed assembly to address this issue and cooperate with the government and experts to pass tough and strict legislation that stresses the specifications for sound construction, prevents violations before they occur, applies strict measures against those who violate the law, and charges the officials responsible for supervising construction with being partners in crime if it is proven that they collaborated. [applause]

No one is above the law. We will allow no one, no matter what his standing or post is, to toy with the rules and laws society has imposed to regulate its affairs. This is

one of the government's basic pillars over which there is no neglect, favoritism, or tolerance.

Brothers and sisters, members of the People's Assembly and Consultative Council, our meeting today coincides with the start of a new parliamentary session in which you continue your praiseworthy work for a comprehensive reform process. All of us cooperate to make it succeed and move from one stage to another to place Egypt at the threshold of a new era.

I would like to praise the great effort the People's Assembly and the Consultative Council exerted in the previous session during tiring and lengthy meetings of the two bodies and their specialized committees. During these meetings, dialogue and debate took place in a civilized, democratic way about Egypt's problems and proposed policies to address them. This an accomplishment that must be noted for all of you, for the majority and minority parties and the independent representatives alike. [applause]

You have placed the homeland's supreme interests above all other considerations, distinguishing between issues that allow disagreement and diverse interpretations and those that demand national consensus. This is one of democracy's basic pillars. This major achievement is apparent not only in the laws you have passed—often taking the initiative to do so—and the presidential decisions and agreements you have ratified. It is also illustrated by the importance of the laws that were passed to tackle vital issues which were urgently needed by society, such as the laws organizing building operations and those pertaining to the money market, banks and credit, and the Central Bank. Additionally, specialist committees from both houses of parliament conducted and issued studies to which the state's organs and institutions must pay due attention because they reflect the people's wishes and touch on issues that concern public interest. The extent of this achievement becomes evident if we remember the near and distant past, the present we are trying to develop, and the future we want.

Any fair and objective observer would acknowledge that Egypt today is very different from its former self. Government performance, the direction of the economy, and social ideas and interrelationships have changed. A comprehensive change has affected society's structure, internal ties, and its status on the world scene. A new atmosphere has come into play, changing the picture entirely and eliminating ancient concepts that used to keep social forces far apart and deprive the country of national efforts that could have redoubled its capability. This was achieved by strenuous effort largely borne by your venerable assembly. You played a decisive role in effecting this transformation by objectively confronting the homeland's problems, drawing your inspiration from Egyptian realities, and rejecting the past's slogans and its burdensome legacy. You did this by passing basic legislation that opened new horizons to national endeavor.

I have no doubt that you will continue your praiseworthy role of supervision and legislation during this new parliamentary term in a way that will bolster Egyptian progress, remove the remaining obstacles that continue to drag it down, safeguard its objectives from those who seek to harm this homeland, and preserve its image from the sins of unscrupulous, unconscientious, and greedy people.

Brothers and sisters: Ever since I was honored by being given this position of responsibility, I realized how great the burden was. I was always certain, however, that Egypt could rise from where it had stumbled if security and stability were made available, if it courageously confronted its past errors, properly used its resources, adopted scientific planning methods, and clearly determined its priorities. I was also certain that Egyptians were capable of achieving miracles if they focused their attention on future issues, discarded past differences and marginal disagreements, were all without exception given the opportunity to participate in decisionmaking, freed themselves from the legacy of old ideas that used to obstruct their progress, accepted a balance of interests among all sectors of the public, and rallied around the homeland, working for its good and dying to defend its pride and dignity.

My pledge to Egypt and its great people was that continuous, unlimited, and selfless efforts would be made for the homeland's good, that I would be committed to frankness and be truthful to myself and others, and that my decisions would reflect the public's wishes, in line with all the institutions in which there are people of learning, sound opinion, and experience.

We set our priorities in four basic spheres without which it would have been impossible to improve Egyptian life. The first was strengthening peace and making the largest possible number of friends abroad to further stability, security, and international cooperation with Egypt. The second was a complete overhaul of our ancient, worn-out infrastructure and renovation of our exhausted factory machinery, which was threatening to grind to a halt. The third was liberating the Egyptian will and administration from numerous burdens that had obstructed economic growth and deprived the country of energies that might have redoubled its output. The fourth was pulling down the walls of isolation that we had built around ourselves, promptly connecting the foundations of Egyptian industrial production with scientific progress abroad, and modernizing Egyptian educational and training institutions.

I do not think I need to emphasize that without Egyptian peace and stability, we could not have made these achievements and that without Egypt's close ties with the outside world, it would not have been possible to write off half our foreign debt and enjoy extensive cooperation with many countries that have extended aid and expertise to Egypt. Egyptian-Arab relations would not have achieved their current status and it would not have been

possible to unrestrictedly open world markets to Egyptian workers and merchandise. [applause] I do not think I need to remind you of the tremendous effort that was made to renew the country's infrastructure, which had become worn out and could no longer service economic development projects. This endeavor renewed the country's youth and energy and proved to every potential investor that the quality and quantity of services he expected were available, enough to assure him that his investment activity would continue uninterrupted.

We invested nearly 225 billion pounds in business. This was used to modernize and renovate hundreds of factories that faced closure, threatening us with the additional burden of importing goods equivalent to these factories' output and laying off thousands of workers. We have certainly reaped many benefits from this investment, which provided jobs for approximately 1.7 million workers, a net annual output of 29 billion pounds, and a net annual profit of about 14 billion pounds. But these results appear modest compared with our great hopes of achieving more and with the results achieved by other countries that are ahead of us in open-market economic growth and technological progress.

I do not want to go into too many details or criticize and analyze causes and justifications. A lot has been said about these issues. I say only this: Over the past few years we have felt that we still have much room to achieve a great leap in production by encouraging further investment, improving worker productivity, absorbing more modern technology, and continuing to develop the management of various projects.

These facts require us to take quick action to realize the objectives to which every loyal person in this country aspires—particularly, creating more job opportunities, providing more financial resources for the state, and realizing greater individual participation and investment in economic projects.

In this way we prepared an integrated economic reform program, largely dependent on better administration of general investments, by giving full freedom to the administrative authority of all the companies in the public business sector [state-owned projects currently being privatized], enabling them to proceed unimpeded to improve the quality and quantity of production, transform losses into profit, and make enough profit to sustain themselves and increase the income of their workers.

This program depends on encouraging individuals to participate financially in setting up economic projects and on preparing an atmosphere conducive to improving the public business sector. Brothers and sisters, I would like to repeat what I have said before: We will not let one worker be harmed by these measures the primary goal of which is the worker's interest. [applause] The success of economic projects is reflected in the return for those involved. Our objective is to strengthen and guarantee the success of these projects, not liquidate them or close them down.

You know I am not an overly optimistic person who could be disappointed because he does not base hopes on realities. You also know that by nature, I am very careful; I am a man of few words, never promising what I cannot keep; I am careful in my actions, never taking a step without making sure that it is the correct one. The heavy burden, large responsibilities, and profound realization that frankness is the beginning of the road to reform taught me all of this. [applause]

Realizing this, I do not hesitate to declare from this podium that the comprehensive reform we started over 10 years ago, and which has made great progress in recent years, has realized tangible results for us. It has augmented our hopes, opened the way to progress and growth, and led us to a new launch pad, where society's forces join hands to realize new and tangible progress the glorious results and fruits of which every citizen will feel.

For the first time in years, total investment in Egypt has increased and raised the economic growth rate to a level above the population's growth rate. The private sector has now become an essential partner in growth. Its share of investments rose from 18 percent in 1981 to 42 percent in the past 10 years and to over 50 percent at the beginning of our third plan. The private sector has spent 71 billion pounds during the past 10 years on investment projects and now contributes 60 percent of the gross national product.

All this happened because we gave this sector the equal opportunity to work and be active within the framework of clear-cut and stable policies that are not subject to sudden change; we put an end to all the differences between it and the public sector in investment, production, and foreign trade; we simplified measures and confronted problems strictly and seriously. Earlier, we made sure that age-old suspicions were dropped to regain confidence and restore its image among state and citizens.

Our monetary policies had many positive results: The pound's exchange rate stabilized; national assets increased; a large part of foreign currency savings was transferred into national currency; the black market disappeared; and foreign currency supply by the banking system increased to cover private and public sector funding requirements. The balance of payments shifted from a deficit of 634 million dollars for 1989-1990 to a surplus of 1.4 billion dollars for 1990-1991. This year it has risen further to exceed 5 billion dollars, because of increased remittances by expatriates and the return of Egyptian capital that had leaked outside the country.

Inflation fell steadily, confirming our increasing ability to control it. Inflation stood at 21.3 percent in 1989, 16.8 percent in 1990, and nearly 10 percent during the first

three months of 1992-1993. Having stood at 24.7 percent in 1987-88, the general budget deficit fell last year to 7.1 percent of the gross national product.

Policies to liberate agricultural products also yielded good results. They increased domestic food production to reduce dependence on imports, which had been growing annually. They also improved self-sufficiency in wheat, corn, and meat.

In industry, not only did we achieve self-sufficiency, but also exported the remainder after meeting local consumption of many products. There was a similar leap in tourism. The number of tourists coming to Egypt rose from 1.5 million in 1986-1987 to 3 million this year, spending approximately 2 billion dollars. Tourism is increasing daily. I know what you are murmuring back there. Everything has a solution. [applause]

The figures prove a new spirit is flowing through society, urging it to work, produce, and earn an honest income. They also drive it to produce quality through honest competition that abides by market laws. The wheel has turned after the removal of burdens and weights that were hampering its rotation. It has turned through the efforts of all society—the private and public sectors, landlords and tenants, workers and employers, and the capable and incapable. The wheel of progress has turned and will continue to turn, because of the united efforts of all these people and because everyone benefits from the income. We know very well that there are some people who are still suffering from the absence of resources and who are living a difficult life. The prices of many goods are still too high for a large percentage of our people and some basic services are still below the required level. There are some who are living in inadequate circumstances in haphazard settlements outside the cities and there are many who have finished their education and hope to find an honorable job opportunity to help them build their future.

These concerns have never been out of my mind or conscience. [applause] Indeed, they have always been a heavy burden causing me much anxiety and restlessness. I do not live a single moment away from the woes and pains of the masses. Although no single society possesses a magic wand to solve these problems overnight, I can say that the door is open to hope and that the light can be seen at the end of the tunnel. What we need is to match hope with action, not to succumb to the illusion that the state can achieve everything and create miracles.

Having explained the signs of hope along the way, our current need is to push the wheel as hard as we can in the right direction. We need to continue the economic reform process determinedly and with insistence. We must not let anyone hinder it or prevent us from proceeding with it. This process is the key to progress and a sine qua non for reconstruction and development.

If we have successfully completed two development plans, one of the primary objectives of our third plan is to confront unemployment. Within this third plan, we will invest about 154 billion pounds in economic projects to create 3.2 million jobs, thus accommodating most of the jobless and the newcomers to the labor market. [applause]

Brothers and sisters, ours has been an immense achievement by all standards. I do not say it is a near miracle, but I can say that it constitutes an important step along the road to our national objectives. This must be followed by rapid and systematic steps in the same direction.

One of the positive aspects of this achievement is that there currently exists national consensus on issues on which past disagreements unjustifiably hindered progress. These included the rights of the working class, the notion of productive openness, the philosophy of economic reform, outlook for the private sector, and the need to deepen democracy in all aspects of individual and group behavior in Egypt.

The impact of this national accord effectively appeared in some areas, but we hope other effects will appear successively. It has been established in our mentality and through our practices that economic reform cannot harm Egypt's workers, whom everyone holds in their hearts. [applause] They are the knights of production, the foundation of industry and agriculture, and our hope for realizing the major national objective of raising Egypt to the level of the developed countries.

It has also become obvious that the private sector's role should not be a source of debate and controversy. This sector is a legitimate backer in which we take pride; we welcome its major role. It is a strong factor in the march of reform and progress. [applause] Patriotic Egyptians adding new energies to Egypt's production have emerged in our society. They invested their capital in many projects, creating jobs for hundreds of thousands of our sons, and enriching the Egyptian market with numerous, diversified commodities that decreased our dependence on foreign markets and improved the quality of Egyptian products.

This is about economic reform and development. The system of government has been stabilized within the framework of a sound democracy based on party pluralism and governed by national commitment to legitimacy and constitutional institutions. The system allows for dialogue among those holding various views and ideas, without restriction. Within this framework, Egypt's parties and forums became varied, covering all the forces that society recognizes as legitimate [applause]. National and partisan press were freed of all restrictions to experience a new climate, opening their pages to all writers to say whatever they wish and to criticize whatever they want.

All these factors call for optimism, but I must be frank and tell you that many other factors call for vigilance and caution and dictate that every citizen shoulder his responsibility toward the future so that Egypt can complete its development and build a free, able society,

confident of its sound objectives, and too strong to be affected by those who promote sedition and advocate evil.

Political life in Egypt has become more active than at any time during the past half century. However, some forces that are alien to democratic action are attempting to exploit the atmosphere of tolerance and freedom to hide under the guise of party action, publicly advocate violence, propagate the causes of sedition and fragmentation, and promote destructive ideas that call for squandering one of the most important sources of our national income—tourism. Tourism has been growing with promise, adding enormously to our national income, and increasingly opening legitimate work opportunities for hundreds of thousands of this homeland's people.

Democracy gave those people a chance to move and act. They used the climate of freedom and tolerance to disseminate their poison through party forums they controlled by means of which you are all aware. They used these forums to support the groups of violence and to justify their heinous crimes. They used them as a dagger to stab the very heart of the homeland, when they cast doubt on Egypt's sovereignty over part of its national soil for reasons that have nothing to do with objectivity or nationalism. You certainly realize the purposes and whims that led them to this shameful conduct. [applause]

Those people would not have been able to move or even find a chance to whisper under a totalitarian government that allows no room for any opposition or disagreement. Nor would their followers in the groups of violence and terrorism have dared to harm Egypt's security under a single-party regime that takes them, individuals and groups, to prison. But this is democracy, in the name of which many crimes are perpetrated.

I do not blame democracy, although many citizens believe it is the direct reason for those regrettable negative events. I always say the defect lies in those who always crow about democracy and its objectives, while being far from it as an ideology, commitment, and practice. They are the enemies of democracy. Democracy does not mean disorder; it is a nationally accepted framework established to maintain national action through various views leading to the realization of national objectives. It is a framework allowing active participation for every good citizen ready to engage in public work and give precedence to the homeland's interests.

The primary requirement of democracy is that the politically active groups, especially parties, should realize that certain issues must remain apart from cheap one-upmanship and trading, because they affect the country's higher interests. This commitment, of course, becomes stronger in times of crises and national disaster. If we review democracies' conduct in such circumstances, we will find that all national forces leave disagreements and party affiliations behind and join hands so that the people can confront the results and repercussions of crises.

Every Egyptian party should have risen to the required level when the sudden earthquake surprised the people. They should have been too lofty to exploit the earthquake and tamper with its victims' pains. All parties, wherever they stand in relation to the government, were supposed to engage in desirable and necessary competition to alleviate the people's burden and enable them to overcome this tragedy with the least possible loss. After the crisis is over and the problem is solved, things may change and various views and interpretations may be accommodated.

I would have also understood it if those doubters and spreaders of falsehoods had waited until state institutions drew up their plan to face the situation. Then they could have discussed and criticized the plan, contributing to its correction and enrichment, if there was room for all this.

I would have also understood it if they had waited until the plans for relief, compensation, rehousing, and reconstruction had been effected. Then they could have analyzed what was done and adopted objective positions, supporting it or maintaining constructive opposition. This is the role of a participating citizen who abides by his homeland's interests before his own interests and ambitions. All this is vanity; nothing lasts except God and the homeland.

I would have also understood it if everyone were to take the initiative to strongly confront the gangs of disrepute who are trying to harm tourism in Egypt and the traditions and values long entrenched in the Egyptian conscience, such as looking after the guest, honoring him, and making him feel safe and secure. Instead, some people have resorted to flagrant and masked incitement to attack those innocent people, who love Egypt and make this love known. It was our duty to provide them with the security and peace they expected and strongly attack every hand that harms them.

Brothers and sisters, these are the first factors that call for alert and caution in the overall picture of Egypt. Unless every citizen resists such behavior and unless all Egypt takes a united stand on rejecting and combating terrorism and closing all doors to its crimes, the result will be a national catastrophe. I reiterate to the entire nation my words from this podium last November: There will be no investment, tourism, development, or new job opportunities if we allow violence and terrorism to extend its poisonous roots into this land. There will be no democracy or party life—I repeat, there will be no democracy or party life—or freedom of opinion and press if we become lax in dealing with these phenomena before they worsen. Other countries suffered serious repercussions because they were late in realizing the seriousness of the spread of violence and tolerated its advocators and perpetrators.

I repeat that confronting violence and terrorism should be the responsibility of all society; of the constitutional institutions that care for the democratic process; of the political and party forces that will cease to exist under a new totalitarian regime; of the writer, thinker, and artist, because under the shadow of terrorism and the terrorists, there will be no freedom of speech or thought and darkness will prevail, killing off every innovation and creation; and of the regular citizen, irrespective of his position, because he is the one who will ultimately bear the results of these groups' threats to the homeland's security, stability, and progress.

The security forces are shouldering a colossal task on behalf of Egyptian society. They are shouldering its burdens with bravery and courage. Martyrs fall to safeguard the country's security and safety, but this is not enough. Society must share and resist.

Something else demands alert and caution. The Egyptian press has achieved its freedom, but we sometimes see that in dealing with political and social issues, some writers do not abide by the required degree of awareness and concern for the safety of the national structure. They discuss issues from a viewpoint overtaken by events. I speak in particular about some writers who still imagine that giving justice to the poor can be done by spreading hatred among society, slandering the capable, and pursuing national capitalism so that it will again feel it is in the dock and the subject of constant suspicion, that it is not standing on its native land, on firm ground, guaranteed legitimate protection and security, and with the right atmosphere to encourage it to undertake further investment and activity.

Brothers and sisters, the interests of the poor can never be protected by striking at the interests of the rich or inciting hatred against them. These interests can be protected by defending both groups' roles and just, legitimate interests. We must not assume their interests contradict each other. The scope of mutual interest is sufficiently large to accommodate everyone who builds on or plants in Egypt's eternal soil. I do not wish to burden you with figures. I only wish to say this to those who still believe that justice can be done to the poor by provoking hatred among various sectors of the public: The Egyptian private sector currently produces 60 percent of the total national output. I need say no more.

Private sector investments currently provide 8.6 million jobs. These investments will provide 75 percent of the new jobs created by the third economic development plan. These are the facts we must bear in mind when reassessing the private sector's role now that it has become a basic partner in the economic development process.

Brothers and sisters, we are running a race against time. The huge population growth necessitates a continuous, high-rate economic growth to meet the demands of this immense flood of newborns and effect a tangible improvement in the life of society as a whole, providing an increase in income in real terms.

We are running against time for another, no less important, reason. The world is rapidly moving toward liberalizing international trade and lifting barriers between markets to create a single global market in which everyone competes. Those capable of renewal and development will stay in it and those incapable of keeping up with progress will be left out. Only a society able to fuel continuous economic growth can face this challenge. Such growth must have a sufficiently broad production base to accommodate thousands of new projects and a workforce that is highly skilled, disciplined, and able to adequately apply scientific methods to various production spheres.

Two basic challenges face Egypt as it stands on the threshold of revival: First, expanding the production base to the greatest extent possible and second, developing the Egyptian workforce. These two goals cannot be achieved without a constant, unhesitating commitment to implementing the policies of economic reform and economic liberalization. Experience has proven the usefulness of these policies, which stimulate competitiveness, encourage investment, and develop infrastructure projects until they can serve thousands of new enterprises.

I have asked the government to act promptly to attract foreign and domestic investment to establish free industrial zones in Egypt's Red Sea ports near Arab and African markets and the Mediterranean ports representing Europe's southern periphery. We now have a golden opportunity to develop industrial areas lying at the meeting point of three continents.

We must also complete the reclamation of whatever arable land remains and encourage citizens to cultivate and settle it. We must complete the construction of new townships and urban complexes that already house thousands of factories. We must rapidly finish the development of tourist areas in Sinai and on the Red Sea and build copies of the successful ones in the remaining area that is marked for tourist development.

Expanding the production base requires reorganizing all the laws that govern economic activity into a new legislative framework that champions investment and economic growth and breaks the shackles of bureaucratic complexities. I believe that the venerable People's Assembly will, by cooperating with the government, develop this legislation as required.

I have asked the government to form a committee of concerned ministers and knowledgeable and experienced individuals to draw up these legislative amendments promptly.

There remains the second challenge, which deals with developing the Egyptian workforce so that its capabilities can rise to high levels of skill, control, and perfection, and it can apply the latest methods in agriculture

and industry. This is the dangerous challenge that requires comprehensive change and development in the form and essence of the educational and training institutions in Egypt, from basic education to university level. It also requires firm and continuous contact between the production and research centers and continuous strengthening of our abilities to absorb technology in various sectors of our life.

This leads me to a subject that is of great interest to me and one that I believe should have high priority on our list of general interests. It should become our national project in the remaining years of this century. This is educational reform. You may remember that in my speech opening the last session on 14 November 1991, I asked you to cooperate with the Ministry of Education to lay out a comprehensive plan to reform education in Egypt. This reform should be radical and integrated and should respond to our increasing demands. From this podium, I proposed that the coming years should be years for developing education and advancing culture in Egypt, because this great deed defines Egypt's future and the destiny of its sons and outlines the true picture of its role in tomorrow's world. I believe it is our duty to review together achievements in this field and that which remains to be achieved to realize the objective we have set ourselves. Our action requires continuity and alert follow-up based on monitoring facts, and placing them within their correct framework and on their sound track.

It is only fair to admit that great effort has been exerted in this throughout the past few months. Extensive and in-depth discussions were held involving educational experts and specialists and university professors. The People's Assembly and Consultative Council also looked into them enough. The conclusion was to prepare a primary report under the headline A View to The Future, containing the broad lines of a program that realizes comprehensive educational reform in Egypt. The report would address the various aspects of the education process, whether to renovate, repair, and build schools, improve teachers' lot, develop curricula, introduce technology and modern methods, restore educational activities and encourage talent, and other factors relating to reform.

Work on implementing the plan began. Some 300 million pounds was spent repairing 7,500 schools before the earthquake. This achievement exceeds any in the field in the past 30 years. Many decisions were made to improve the teachers' lot and the People's Assembly issued the necessary legislation to proceed with reform. An ambitious program was set up to retrain and improve the performance of the Egyptian teacher, a plan involving the Ministry of Education, the Higher Council of Universities, and the educational institutions of other countries that are ahead of us in this field.

The process of changing curricula has started. Many of the superfluous subjects in this age have been removed and more attention has been given to natural sciences, mathematics, and languages, including our national language of which we are very proud and wish to preserve. Great attention has been paid to improving technical education in Egypt—a vital issue due to its direct influence on the future of production and the situation of workers in Egypt and in many of the fraternal and friendly African countries who welcome the participation of Egypt's youth in their development and in improving living standards.

This issue is so important that I have been discussing it with leaders of friendly countries who could extend help and experience in this field. These contacts resulted in an agreement with Germany last February stipulating Germany's participation in this great deed. Egypt has already received many technical delegations, which carried out the necessary research using accurate scientific statistics.

Essentially, this project is based on having two sides responsible for technical education: the school, after it is reequipped, and service and production units, where students go daily after their lessons in school. This will require Egyptian industry to participate in this ambitious program, as happens in Germany, and even to intervene, issuing degrees after education and training are completed.

I do not need to repeat here that the two councils will be given the chance—it is a requirement of them—to play a continuous and effective role in all these fields, whether by issuing the necessary legislation or supervising the implementation of the comprehensive plan from the start. You are also asked to issue the recommendations you believe are correct.

We cannot discuss education and forget culture, which is the other pillar of reform. Without culture, mental capacity cannot be fully realized nor can the skills acquired by an individual during his education. I find it appropriate to call on you to cooperate with the Ministry of Culture to set out a comprehensive plan to elevate culture and sponsor people to pursue artistic and cultural activities in Egypt. Such a plan would deal with the various aspects of literary and artistic creativity. It would also extend to publishing and exporting books, sending delegations abroad, and boosting the fine arts. I hope such a plan can be set out in this round.

Dear brothers and sisters, a few days ago general elections for the local popular councils took place in Egypt. Citizens elected their representatives in village, center, city, district, and governorate councils. These elections were held under a system of party pluralism with the participation of most Egyptian parties. The local popular councils are a form of democratic practice. The comprehensiveness and varied levels of this practice offer a wide base that guarantees citizens' participation in decision-making and in following up and evaluating the results. The local popular councils are partners in the responsibility. Along with the executive body, they carry the

burden of realizing comprehensive regional growth, which continues throughout Egypt.

In view of the economic and social changes we are experiencing, the local popular councils are asked to concentrate on the following:

1. Creating the necessary atmosphere for investment, showing interest in the services and infrastructure projects in their councils to realize a tangible increase in the production base, employing skilled and professional workers, and concentrating on transformational training and improving skills.

2. Rising to the level of services that government units are providing and using the investments that have been allocated to these institutions.

3. Exerting more effort in family planning and in eradicating illiteracy.

4. Paying attention to environmental issues, including land, water, and air, and using scientific and technological facilities to solve the problems of environmental pollution.

5. Strengthening the role of personal efforts and the popular participation of citizens to realize the objectives of comprehensive growth, especially in expanding and administering services.

6. Resorting to regional universities and scientific research institutes to plan for regional development and providing advice on the appropriate solutions to local councils' problems.

Dear brothers and sisters, members of the People's Assembly and Consultative Council. At the beginning of the last round, we discussed the basics, values, and features of the new world order. I do not need to discuss this subject in an expanded and detailed way. It is enough, however, for me to stress that this new world order has not yet been finalized. It continues to be in the establishment and development stage, or the stage of transformation and change, which usually is characterized by many disturbances and instability.

Therefore, although we have gotten rid of—even if for a short while—the dangers of destructive world wars which are started or waged by the major powers, we now sense some worrying events on the narrow regional level. Racial conflicts and tribal clashes have increased, leaving behind much destruction and suffering. Numerous countries have gone through periods of fragmentation and entities have sprung up which are based on racial identities. At the same time, economic differences between the rich and poor countries have increased, population pressures and migration have multiplied, floods of refugees have swelled, and many countries are now suffering more than others from the problems resulting from these circumstances. The entire international community cannot live in isolation from these problems or ignore their existence and repercussions.

Perhaps it is appropriate for me to concentrate in my speech today on the following issues:

First, the issue of achieving a just and comprehensive peace in the Middle East, which is witnessing tangible positive developments despite the fact that some groups are disappointed and upset because such results have not been realized at the required speed. We believe it is premature for anyone to feel that hopes of peace have diminished. The negotiations, brothers and sisters—and Egypt has experience in them—are by nature difficult and complicated, requiring much patience and give and take. It is sufficient that the parties are talking seriously about the basic issues rather than arguing. They recognize that the negotiations revolve around implementing all the articles and regulations of Resolution 242, applying the principle of land for peace, and respecting the national rights of the Palestinian people, foremost of which is their right to self-determination, establishment of their national entity on their territory, and guaranteeing security for all the countries in the region.

Second, the situation in the Gulf region, which is of extreme strategic importance. The first thing that comes to our minds here is the hope that our brothers in the Arab Gulf countries will strengthen their unity and cohesion and unite their ranks and stands so that they can confront the challenges facing them—challenges that are neither few nor easy.

We have to say here that if Iran wants to prove its good intentions, then it should abandon the means of hegemony which it resorts to in facing the Arab Gulf flash points, because these Arab countries are not standing alone and no one can ever isolate any of them. We stand with them in one trench, back them, and defend their rights and interests. [applause]

Brothers and sisters, to let these countries remain subject to threats and pressures under one pretext or another and prey for aggression and blackmail is unacceptable.

Iran should also desist completely from interfering in the internal affairs of Arab and Islamic countries. I reiterate that Iran should desist completely from interfering in the internal affairs of Arab and Islamic countries. It is not anyone's custodian and does not have the right to speak in the name of Islam and its teachings. This right belongs to the entire Islamic nation and should be exercised away from ethnic and doctrinal squabbles and hegemony schemes, for the latter are alien to the spirit of Islam and its principles and tenets. [applause]

Third, the situation in the Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina. After long months of bloody incidents and violent actions the likes of which the world has not seen since the end of World War II, the parties reached a compromise agreement in the talks held in Geneva on 19 October. We hope that this compromise will stop the bloodshed and end the aggression.

Fourth, the contradiction between some of the Third World countries, which are suffering from divisions and

fragmentations, and the advanced countries' move toward integration and forming blocs. The first group of countries is the one which is in more need of coordinating its efforts and mobilizing its resources to confront the grave challenges facing it. The industrially and technologically advanced countries have established huge blocs that are expected to have an immense impact on production and international trade.

In addition to the European Community, the unity of which was strengthened when the Maastricht Treaty was signed in February 1992, an initiative was launched a few months ago to set up a common market in North America comprising the United States, Canada, and Mexico.

There recently has been much talk about the need to deepen economic and technological cooperation between the Far East countries, and this signals the possible establishment of a third regional bloc that would occupy a major international position and become a serious competitor for the European and American blocs.

We cannot talk about the Far East without noting China, which has extensive human and cultural importance. It has followed in the past few years a bold policy of economic reform and openness in a manner that is compatible with its conditions and fulfills its needs. These friendly people are now at the threshold of a great renaissance that will place China and other Asian peoples alongside the influential countries of the new world order.

Fifth, the situation on the African continent: There was remarkable progress in southern Africa this year. Moves were made toward liquidating apartheid and introducing democracy and equality among members of the society, irrespective of their ethnic affiliations.

On the opposite side, we find regrettable deterioration in the Horn of Africa, specifically in fraternal Somalia, which is suffering from bloody and destructive tribal conflicts. These conflicts not only sabotage relations among the sons of the same family, but they also paralyze the ability of the world community to relieve the victims, rescue children and the elderly, and put an end to this regrettable tragedy. We repeat our call on all parties to this painful conflict to stop the bloodshed and immediately end the suffering and destruction. This is a major challenge to all sides, and every drop of Somali blood or sweat is needed for construction and development.

Brothers and sisters, we have made persistent and sincere efforts out of faithfulness to a great country, because it is the country of civilization and light, and out of faithfulness to a people who deserve a better position, because this great and noble people support the values of justice, good, and life. We have made honest and sincere efforts. We have not hesitated to offer a sacrifice or held back from contributing. We have accomplished that which was acceptable to our consciences and the almighty God. We have achieved a great deal of work for the present and the future, work of which our future generations could be proud. We reinvigorated the youth of Egypt to make them more capable of shouldering the burdens of the future. We restored for them huge resources that had been inactive. We removed restrictions and burdens that shackled their surge. We opened to them a clear path for progress.

Egypt deserves from us all an honest effort to raise its structure, a conscience that believes and promotes excellence, a serious behavior that abides by the national interest, and a conscious insistence on the country's unity. There is no alternative for building a country capable of shouldering the burdens of a new era in which there is no place for people who are lazy about achieving progress. There is no alternative for building a country that will fulfill the ambitions of its youth, embracing everyone who has a right and supporting every sincere person, correcting the wrong and righting deviation, making respect for the law a moral duty binding on everyone. The way to achieve this is for everyone to question himself before questioning others, to ask his conscience before searching the consciences of others, and to stand as a good example. Everyone should do this in his own environment, rising above corruption and trivialities and remaining beyond suspicion. This is the duty of every citizen and every official, irrespective of his position.

My pledge to you, brothers and sisters, is to continue our march together on the straight path, making unselfish efforts for the sake of God and country, not deviating from the correct goal, however difficult the road may be, supporting what is good and right to promote the values of this people and their noble heritage, and facing all our problems with the necessary frankness, however difficult the task may be. Our goals are as clear as day, our path is straight without any bends, our heads are held high, rising above whims and conceit, our lives are innocent of the suspicion of deviation, our consciences are pure and white; their only preoccupation is seeking God's blessing and the country's glory. The wheel will turn with the help of all Egyptians. All are partners in development. All are responsible for the goals and all will share in the fruits of development. There is no room for hatred, because hatred breeds strife. There is no room for strife, because strife breeds ruin. There is no room for hatred, because Egypt needs the efforts of all its sons, together pushing the wheel of progress forward and reaping the fruits of our harvest. There is no room for strife, because the path of progress is clear. It cannot be seen by those with misled sights or sinful hearts, who agreed to abandon the country and its goals.

We have made a major stride in a difficult process, the good signs of which can be seen even now in the form of great hopes for building a more capable country balancing rights and interests, united by brotherhood and justice, and advanced by education and knowledge. Thanks be to God, who gave us the wisdom of mind and the light of faith to endure our long struggle. The results

of this struggle are now apparent in the form of greater hope for a bright future. Confidence has become a landmark, providing an incentive to every Egyptian to participate and contribute. Thanks be to God for supporting our march to produce this huge effort and strengthening our optimism in the near future in which there will be constant growth in Egyptian capability, when the Egyptian march will move to the 21st century.

I pray to the almighty God to crown our march with success, to grant us purity of soul, to keep feelings of hatred away from our hearts, and to protect us from the dangers of strife so that we can remain united on the correct path, achieving Egypt's renaissance and the Egyptian people's hopes. God is the best helper and supporter. May God grant us success. [applause]

Musa Leaves for G-15 Talks, Comments on Peres Visit

NC1711082092 Cairo MENA in Arabic 0705 GMT 17 Nov 92

[Text] Cairo, 17 Nov (MENA)—Foreign Minister 'Amr Musa and his delegation left for Dakar this morning to take part in the three-day meetings of the Group of 15 [G-15] foreign ministers. The foreign ministers will prepare for the African summit. President Husni Mubarak will lead Egypt's delegation to this summit, 'Amr Musa added.

In a pre-departure statement, Musa stressed the importance of the topics that will be discussed during the meetings. He said the ministers will discuss ways to promote trade among the group's states, and to increase economic and investment cooperation among the countries of the South. The ministers also will take the necessary steps to hold the North-South dialogue, the foreign minister added.

Musa said Egypt will present two new projects in the field of renewable energy for the South. It also will take part in administrating and designing oil, gas, and petrochemical projects, Musa added. He noted that other projects will be proposed by the other countries. He stressed that Egypt is participating in and benefiting from some of these projects.

Touching on the visit to Cairo by Israeli Foreign Minister Shim'on Peres and its effects on the peace process, the foreign minister said: The readiness to hold consultations and conduct dialogue are positive signs. He expressed the hope that the peace talks will achieve progress during the next round, which will commence in December, and that the participants will specify the points under discussion, particularly concerning the Palestinian issue.

On the Syrian-Israeli negotiations, Musa said that talks are under way on issuing a declaration of principles concerning these negotiations.

Iran Warned To Stop 'Terrorist Intervention'

NC1611203692 Cairo Arab Republic of Egypt Radio Network in Arabic 1830 GMT 16 Nov 92

[Ahmad al-Razzaz commentary "The Language of the Gangs That Rule Iran"]

[Text] Tehran lost its balance and became tense following Cairo's decisive warning, spoken by President Husni Mubarak in his documentary speech before the Egyptian peoples deputies, that Egypt totally rejects the domination plans the Tehran authorities have been pursuing for a long time. These plans deal with intervening in the domestic affairs of Arab and Islamic countries. There are numerous precedents to prove this regime's serious practices since 1979, since Iran declared that it would export what it called the Islamic revolution to all Arab and Islamic countries.

This proves that Tehran is using religion and is trying to peddle its plans through false claims. The Iranian people themselves were the first to uncover these lies. This fraternal people have faced death on scaffolds and by firing squads in public squares in the notorious physical liquidations that began with the terrorist rule represented by this regime. Millions of them fled their homeland to save their skins from the outrage and atrocities the despotic Iranian agencies use against anyone who raises a voice for freedom or democracy. The reactionary Iranian regime, which relies on brutal force, despotism, atrocities, flouts democracy.

When President Mubarak pinpointed Egypt's stand in his documentary speech and said that Egypt is opposed to the domination plan, he was referring to the Iranian regime's continued attempts to intervene in the domestic affairs of Arab and Islamic countries. The regime does this under the cover of religion and attempts to instigate the sons of a homeland and create enmity among them. This is contrary to the teachings of religion, which calls for unity, tolerance, and fraternity. Do these desperate actions, which the Iranian regime has grown used to using against Arab and Islamic countries, have anything to do with Islam and its teachings? Are these not erroneous and misleading actions that should warn the Arab and Islamic countries and people to be vigilant and confront the hegemonic Iranian plans? These actions count on exporting terrorism, violence, and tearing asunder the ranks of the people, as has happened in more than one Arab and Islamic country.

The TEHRAN TIMES, the mouthpiece of the Tehran rulers, portrayed President Mubarak's warning to the Iranian rulers to stop their acts of terrorism and domination attempts as a prelude to aggression against Iran. We assert that Egypt has never been a source of aggression. Its bright history shows that it has never become involved in the domestic affairs of a fraternal or friendly country. Egypt is a country of principles, and it has constantly stood for right and justice. The shuffling of cards by the TEHRAN TIMES is intended to mislead the Iranian people in an attempt to divert attention from

Iran's aggressive actions, which rely on interference in the domestic affairs of Arab and Islamic countries and on entrenching the military occupation of the United Arab Emirates lands. Iran's actions in the region are manifest in its occupation of the Abu Musa, Tunb al-Kubra, and Tunb al-Sughra Islands. Egypt rejects this aggression as it did the Iraqi aggression against Kuwait.

There is compelling proof that throughout its history, Egypt has never been an aggressive, hegemonic, or domineering state. Egypt has always renounced the policy of interference in the domestic affairs of any country. It is from this premise that President Mubarak addressed his warning to the Tehran rulers to stop their aggressive and terrorist intervention in the affairs of Arab and Islamic countries. Donning the garb of religion for ulterior motives has been uncovered by countries and peoples. What the Tehran authorities are doing is cheap exploitation of religion that is shunned by principles and values, particularly Islam's values and teachings.

Accused of Arming Terrorists

NC1611172392 Cairo MENA in Arabic 1452 GMT 16 Nov 92

[Text] Al-Zaqaziq, 16 Nov (MENA)—Dr. Yusuf Wali, deputy prime minister, agriculture minister, and National Democratic Party [NDP] secretary general, has announced that Egypt will not allow Iran to export the revolution to our country or distribute weapons to children and the unenlightened in Upper Egypt to kill tourists and destroy the Egyptian economy.

Addressing a political rally in Minya al-Qamh in al-Sharqiyah Governorate today, Wali said that a group of Iranians have established camps on the border of a neighboring country to strike at the Aswan High Dam, tourism, and agriculture in an effort to make our country poor. He said that Egypt will not allow them to carry our their plan and will adopt the necessary measures to secure its interests. He said: We will not let those people wreck havoc with Egypt's security of the Egyptian youth.

Commenting on the recent local elections, Dr. Wali said that none of the 12 political parties operating in Egypt can form a government and that the success of some of these political parties came after well-known NDP members joined their election tickets. He noted, however, that the NDP ran uncontested and won before the elections began.

Dr. Wali discussed crops, saying that the production of cotton increased this year despite the fact that the cultivated area was reduced by 11,000 feddans. He said 5.5 million kantars [100-pound weight measure] have so far been exported this year in comparison to 5 million kantars last year. He added that 750,000 thousand ardibs [capacity measure equal to 5.6 U.S. bushels] have been delivered to threshing factories to date. Last year, we only produced 500,000 thousand ardibs. Regarding the corn crop, Dr. Wali said that the current Jizah—81 variety will be replaced by higher quality corn next year in all al-Sharqiyah districts.

He discussed land reclamation, saying that every individual who has cultivated the land distributed to him will be made its official owner. Those who have reclaimed land more than 5 km from the highway will be allowed to buy it at 50 pounds per feddan.

Awqaf Minister Minister Muhammad 'Ali Mahjub, who accompanied Dr. Wali during his visit to al-Sharqiyah Governorate, said that Islam is the solution but this must not be the slogan of one single political party but of all of Egypt. It must refer to tolerant Islam which does not commit aggression, kill, or shed blood, he said.

Mahjub called on young people to open their hearts and ears, noting that throughout its long history, Egypt has not known terrorism or extremism; rather, it has given the entire world a message of love and peace. He emphasized that it is a national duty to protect people and tourists.

The awqaf minister allocated 5 million pounds to rebuild mosques in al-Sharqiyah that were damaged by the earthquake and 1 million pounds to furnish them with quality carpets.

He announced that a huge Islamic center will be built in Kazakhstan at Egyptian expense to boost cooperation with Islamic CIS republics. He explained that an open budget has been set aside to build this center, in line with President Husni Mubarak's instructions.

Libya

Country Ready for 'Fair' Trial of Lockerbie Suspects

LD1611192792 Tripoli JANA in English 1748 GMT 16 Nov 92

[Text] Sirte, al-Harth [November] 16, JAMAHIRIYAH NEWS AGENCY—Staff Major 'Abd-al-Salam Ahmed Jallud today announced that we are ready for a fair and just trial for the suspects [the two Libyans wanted in connection with Pan Am 103 Lockerbie affair] as our main goal is to establish the facts and the truth.

He said that the tragic atrocity has given us a lot of pain and we want to vindicate ourselves, to demonstrate our innocence and to establish the whole truth, therefore we are calling for a fair and just trial.

Jallud to Congress on New U.S. Administration

LD1611183992 Tripoli JANA in English 1739 GMT 16 Nov 92

[Text] Sirte, al-Harth [November] 16, JAMAHIRIYAH NEWS AGENCY—Staff Major 'Abd-al-Salam Ahmed Jallud said that sanctions imposed against the Great Jamahiriyah are unfair and unjust.

In his speech to the opening session of the General Peoples Congress he expressed his hope that the new American Administration will understand us correctly and not as we are being portrayed by the anti-media campaigns.

He asked the American Administration to turn a new page, and indicated that their options have to be respected and an end had to be put for the state of antagonism held against a small and innocent nation.

Staff Major 'Abd-al-Salam Ahmed Jallud confirmed that the unjust sanctions imposed on the Great Jamahiriyah by the unfair resolution constitute a violation to international law and the United Nations Charter.

In his speech to the opening session of the General Peoples Congress he said that the Great Jamahiriyah is seeking a peaceful solution and trys to avoid the escalation of the crisis with the Western countries. He enumerated the efforts deployed by the Great Jamahiriyah in this respect in response to the resolutions.

He added: We have responded to the Security Council Resolution 731, but regrettably, further resolutions were issued against us imposing unjust and unfair sanctions that are not founded by law nor any charter. This means jailing a whole nation. He confirmed that those measures cost the Great Jamahiriyah more than 2.4 billion dollars, plus needless deaths of children and pregnant women, because efficiency in hospitals had declined and many medicines and vaccines, normally transported by air, are missing due to the air ban.

Report on Ghali Letter to al-Qadhdhafi Denied

LD1111110892 Tripoli JANA in English 0855 GMT 11 Nov 92

[Text] Tripoli, al Harth [November] 11 JAMAHIRIYAH NEWS AGENCY—It was learnt from sources at the United Nations' headquarters in New York that the story published by the Egyptian 'AL-AHRAM' newspaper, reported by its correspondent in New York, about how Col. Mu'ammar al-Qadhdhafi received a letter from Butrus-Ghali, the secretary general of the United Nations dealing with the crisis between the Great Jamahiriyah and the western countries is unsubstantiated and false. The editor of international affairs of the JAMAHIRYAH NEWS AGENCY said that Col. Mu'ammar al-Qadhdhafi, the leader of the revolution is not a head of state and does not have the authority to decide on policy which is the domain of the Peoples Committee for Foreign Liaison and International Cooperation.

He made clear that the Peoples Committee for Foreign Liaison is the conduit between the outside world and the Libyans, the latter whom are self sovereign, self governing and free to decide as they wish. He said that it is the only quarter legally vested with the authority by the Basic Peoples Congresses to conduct such contacts.

The editor stressed that any contact made which concerns foreign policy and the Great Jamahariyah's relations with the various countries and international organisations are the responsibility and domain of the Peoples Committee for Foreign Liaison and International Cooperation. He added that there was no other channel nor any other quarter which has this perogative or can exercise such authority.

Thus, it has to be made clear that, until now, the Peoples Committee for Foreign Liaison and International Cooperation has not received the purported letter mentioned in the 'AL-AHRAM' newspaper. Thus, it confirms that this story is completely false and unsubstantiated.

The editor of international affairs in the Jamahariyah News Agency added that the Great Jamahariyah agreed to Resolution 731 and had complied with all its' clauses. Consequently, there is no justification for continuing to have the unjust coercive measures imposed on it.

Bulgaria Arrests Iraqi Suspects in Arms Deal

PM1611101892 London SAWT AL-KUWAYT AL-DUWALI in Arabic 13 Nov 92 pp 1, 6

[Muhammad Khalaf report: "Saddam Intelligence Active in Eastern Europe To Break Embargo; Two Iraqis and a Palestinian Arrested in Bulgaria"]

[Excerpts] Sofia—Security sources at the Bulgarian Interior Ministry have revealed the arrest of two Iraqis and a Palestinian. They emphasized that Iraqi intelligence resorted recently to setting up and registering numerous and various trade companies in order to grant a legitimate and legal nature to its activities.

The sources said that among the figures frequenting the capital, Sofia, are Muhammad 'Abbas, Nabil Zuhayr al-Bakri, Yusuf-al-Din Habib, Nusayr Hasan, Muhammad 'Ammar, and Muhammad Ni'mah. The last is a senior officer in the Iraqi security organ. He made frequent visits recently. All the visits were made via Romania. The return from Sofia to Baghdad was via Turkey. They said that the Interior Ministry was monitoring these people's activities for security reasons.

The sources linked these activities with the tireless attempts made by Arab traders residing permanently in Sofia and known for their dealings with the international "mafia" specializing in the arms and drugs trade to acquire—through forged documents—various spare parts and advanced weapons and military equipment whose final destination seems to be Iraq. [passage omitted]

The sources recalled details of the scandal related to the smuggling of plutonium to Iraq and the role of the Iraqi Embassy in Sofia in arranging its transfer to Baghdad via the diplomatic bag. They said we cannot ignore these incidents which, together with other available information, constitute undoubted evidence of the involvement of Iraqi intelligence and the Iraqi regime's other organs in organizing and carrying out these actions, which are designed to break the international embargo imposed on Iraq. [passage omitted]

Meanwhile, Kosta Bogachevski, official spokesman for the criminal investigation department, has denied in a statement to SAWT AL-KUWAYT that a Bulgarian general or any Bulgarian could have taken part or been implicated in the deal scandal. He said that his country had no information about the people who stole the plutonium, their identities, or nationalities. However, he emphasized that the nuclear capsules were sold to foreigners whose identities are still unknown. He revealed that Bulgarian authorities had arrested a Polish citizen implicated in the deal. [passage omitted]

Paper Views Turkish-Syrian-Iranian Ankara Talks

JN1611183192 Baghdad AL-THAWRAH in Arabic 13 Nov 92 p 8

["The Last Word" column by Hamid Sa'id]

[Text] When it invited the foreign ministers of Iran, Syria, and Saudi Arabia for talks aimed at discussing the situation in Iraqi Kurdistan, the Turkish Foreign Ministry might have various reasons in mind. Indeed, this is the impression the Turkish Foreign Ministry spokeswoman gave when she announced the invitation, saying that the talks will be held in Ankara from 14-15 November. Notwithstanding all this, this invitation shows that the fire ignited in the northern part of our homeland has begun to burn the hands of those who started it. Worse still, the fact that the Turkish Army is waging a war against Turkish Kurds and pursuing them into Iraqi territory means that the fire that they started to extinguish in Iraq has become a danger threatening them.

Invitations for the Ankara talks were extended to the Iranian and Syrian governments due to the presence of Kurds on Iranian and Syrian territory. As for the invitation extended to the foreign minister of Al Sa'ud, it was prompted by the fact that the Saudi regime is supplying armed groups in Iraqi Kurdistan with funds and arms.

Given all this, if the Ankara talks were to be held, they would bring together all regional powers that served as fire tongs in the hands of the authors of the scheme that targeted Iraq and its unity; namely, the Crusaders and the Zionists.

Turkish officials have discovered that their big and small allies in the anti-Iraq crusade are playing games. Some of the weapons being used by Turkish Kurdish fighters are of Western origin. Similarly, the Syrian regime continues to maintain a tactical relationship with a faction of the Workers Party of Kurdistan. As for Iran, it is opening its borders to cover the withdrawal of Turkish Kurdish gunmen who are fleeing the assaults of the Turkish Army. Worse still, Iraqi Kurdish arms merchants are fighting Turkish Kurds in public and selling them arms clandestinely.

The conferees might endeavor to identify the means of confining the Kurdish problem to the Iraqi Kurdistan region. However, this is impossible, even though Talabani and Barzani are willing to work to achieve this objective, particularly since they have lost their independent free will and become tools carrying out the orders dictated to them.

The Turkish Government might propose to the conferees that their countries neutralize their roles after the Turkish house has caught fire. But, is there a guarantee that these parties will accommodate the Turkish request?

Turkey is now aware of the seriousness of the game. As for others, their turn will undoubtedly come. As for the big loser in all this, it is our Kurdish people in Iraq.

BABIL Hopes for 'New' U.S. Foreign Policy

JN1411131092 Baghdad INA in Arabic 0900 GMT 14 Nov 92

[Text] Baghdad, 14 Nov (INA)—The newspaper BABIL says that peoples of the world hope to see the new U.S. president chart a new foreign policy in light of the adverse consequences yielded by Bush's pursuit of a new world order, foremost among which is the collapse of the theory of "might makes right."

In an analysis published today, the paper adds: Reports of Clinton's determination to reduce U.S. troops in Europe could serve as a practical message addressed to the U.S. people meant to ease pressures on the backs of U.S. taxpayers. In the same vein, these reports could also serve as another message addressed to Europeans, telling them that there will be a better U.S.-European understanding in the future—"an understanding that would not stand in the way of Europe's efforts to achieve unity and launch a European army."

The paper notes that this shows Clinton's good faith toward Europe. The paper adds that the world is waiting for other decisions of the same caliber, particularly in Asia, many parts of which are housing U.S. bases and naval fleets.

BABIL expresses a certain belief that the Clinton administration will have to deal with a large number of complex and intertwined problems caused by the Bush administration, which failed to dictate its policies to the world even though it used its weight as the only world superpower.

The paper affirms that the solutions to these problems being contemplated by the new U.S. president must take into account the fact that the average American is not convinced of the usefulness of Bush's external military adventures. Similarly, the paper notes, the new president must also take into account the fact that Americans want to build their country economically and socially before anything else.

BABIL states that the partitioning of states, the efforts made by the Bush administration to achieve this objective, and attempts by that administration to strengthen a certain country at the expense of others in the Middle East, the Arabian Gulf, and elsewhere will obviously not promote U.S. interests in the long run, nor, for that matter, will these endeavors and attempts to that end promote the interests of Arabs and other world states.

The paper concludes by saying: Undoubtedly, Washington will pay dearly for these mistakes unless an alternative realistic policy is pursued by the new White House administration.

Gorbachev's 'Treason,' Yeltsin's 'Subservience' Viewed

JN1611095392 Baghdad INA in Arabic 0725 GMT 16 Nov 92

[Text] Baghdad, 16 Nov (INA)—The newspaper AL-QADISIYAH has stressed that the developing countries used to view the Russian people as the force capable of confronting the imperialist-Zionist current which seeks to storm the world.

In an article today under the headline "Russia..Will it Become a Western Protectorate," the paper says: The former USSR's power was huge and used to obstruct the imperialist and Zionist ambitions. This is why the conspiracy against it was large-scale and comprehensive. So, the Zionist-U.S.-British hands and their allies played havoc with it to turn it into rubble, and to deprive it of any identity or clear course.

The paper notes: The treason was hideous and painful. Gorbachev, who took upon himself the task of dismantling the USSR, did not betray the Soviet peoples only, but all the peoples who used to have confidence in the Soviet policy.

The paper adds: Gorbachev's stand toward East Germany was clear. Its former president Honecker has openly accused him of treason. Gorbachev was also clear in supporting the 30-state aggression against steadfast Iraq.

The paper says: Yeltsin, who succeeded him, did not hesitate to insult the Russian people before the British parliament, and to threaten the opposition to resort to emergency powers to confront it. His betrayal of the heritage of the entire Russian population exceeded all limits when he signed a friendship treaty with Britain, the first since 1766.

The paper adds: By doing so, Yeltsin has officially, and for the first time, contributed to an ideological and cultural invasion of their country. He left the door wide open for the Western media to destroy what has remained of the socialist principles which are still implanted inside the Russians.

The paper says: The Russian newspaper PRAVDA was right when it described Yeltsin as an impudent flatterer of the West. It described his speech before the British parliament as an insult to Russia's history, especially since it was written by the same people who wrote the speech he had previously delivered before the U.S. Congress.

The paper says: The subservience of Yeltsin and his regime to the United States and its allies is clear. The United States and its allies seek to turn Russia into a protectorate for the West and a servant to the imperialist policies in the region.

Concluding, the paper says: History will never have mercy on those who betray their countries. Moreover,

the peoples, who know their enemies well cannot allow treason to continue, and must put matters on the right course. Only then will the traitors fall, just like pawns on a chess board.

Paper Comments on Iranian Dreams of Domination

JN1511114192 Baghdad INA in Arabic 0850 GMT 15 Nov 92

[Text] Baghdad, 15 Nov (INA)—The newspaper AL-THAWRAH warns against the Iranian regime's ambitions and its expansionist intentions of dominating the Arabian Gulf region and playing once again the role of the policeman assigned the task of protecting the interests of imperialist Western states.

In a commentary published today, the paper adds: It seems that a new life has been breathed into the Iranian rulers' old dream of establishing a Persian empire, and that this dream is now preoccupying their minds—a development which was reflected in their course and policy and prompted them to reconsider their military calculations and long-term plans. That is why they have begun to make preparations to revive this empire which was conquered by our forefathers, who used their swords to vindicate right.

The paper notes the Iranian rulers' endeavors to realize this dream, as well as their frenzied efforts to purchase large quantities of weapons and ammunition and conclude large-scale arms deals at a cost of several billion dollars.

AL-THAWRAH stresses that by endeavoring to revive the Persian empire, the Iranian regime actually seeks to impose its hegemony on the Arabian Gulf region, to subject Gulf regimes to its control, and to revive the role Iran played during the rule of the shah—the role of the policeman assigned the task of protecting the interests of imperialist Western states, foremost among which are the United States, Britain, and France.

Concluding its commentary, the paper says: It seems that the Iranian regime has forgotten the eloquent and cruel lesson Iraq taught it during the eight-year war, in which it was defeated at the hands of Iraqis, who are still capable of chopping off the head of whomever entertains the notion of undermining a single inch of their beloved territory.

Spokesman Says Iran Still Detains POW's

JN1111104392 Baghdad INA in Arabic 0925 GMT 11 Nov 92

[Text] Baghdad, 11 Nov (INA)—Iraq has said it does not trust Iranian authorities' claims that they intend to release 400 Iraqi POW's.

An official spokesman today refuted claims made by the Iranian media organs in that regard. In a statement to INA, the spokesman said the Iranian authorities are still employing maneuvers and clear deception over the Iraqi POW's issue.

The source asserted that the persons Iran is going to release are not prisoners from the Iraq-Iran war, but are military men and civilians forced to go to Iran by the Iranian infiltrators during the chapter of treason and treachery in March 1990.

The Iraqi spokesman once again accused the Iranian regime of violating the principles and teachings of Islam concerning treatment of the prisoners of war. He said the Iraqis taken prisoner during the armed conflict between Iraq and Iran are still detained in violation of Paragraph Three of Security Council Resolution 598 and the Third Geneva Convention, taking into account that some of them have been detained for more than 10 years.

The spokesman reminded the world community that Iraq has fulfilled all its obligations and returned all Iranian prisoners to their country, thus showing respect for the Islamic Shari'ah and the international law and Iraq's commitments to the world and Islamic communities.

It is worth recalling that an Iraqi spokesman on Thursday denied that the group which Iran released last week was of prisoners from the Iraq-Iran war, but of civilians and military men forced by the Iranian infiltrators to go to Iran.

German Scientist Describes Embargo Effects

JN1611114292 Baghdad INA in English 1340 GMT 15 Nov 92

[Text] Baghdad, Nov.15, INA—A well-known German scientist said more than 20,000 civilians were killed during the U.S-led war against Iraq. "Still more Iraqis are dying because of the trade sanctions. Some 170,000 children are facing imminent death because of malnutrition and epidemics before the end of 1992," Professor Siegwart Gunther said in a lecture delivered at the Baghdad University last week and was quoted by THE BAGHDAD OBSERVER newspaper entitled "The Children In Iraq—Why Do They Die?" The lecture shed light on the impact of war and of U.N-imposed sanctions on the people namely children of Iraq.

According to Professor Gunther, relief organisations had pointed out that several thousands of children are threatened by death due to hunger and diseases. An up-dated report by the Harvard Study team estimated that the children mortality rate in Iraq would rise by the end of 1992 up to 170,000. Official sources in Baghdad said that 21 thousand children are now dying of malnutrition and infectious diseases," he recalled.

During his visit to children hospitals in al-Basrah and Mosul Provinces, Professor Gunther traced serious complications of diseases and attributed them to lack of food, vaccines, and medicine.

In Mosul, a city of nearly two million inhabitants, some 42,000 families have been registered by the Red Crescent Society as living only with a monthly income of ID 150 to 200 each, he explained. This amount is even less than the price of 50 kilos of flour.

He went on to say that the supply of safe drinking water has been totally disrupted in al-Basrah where around 1.5 million people live. "In al-Basrah and in nearby villages, drinking water is provided by tanks and by tank-lorries," he said adding that one bottle of water is more expensive than one litre of petrol.

"In Shatt al-'Arab area, the temperature rises in July and August to 55 C with a humidity of over 90 per cent," he said." There is a shortage of spare parts and chlorine, therefore most of the waste water and sewerage is being discharged in the Tigris and the Euphrates rivers without treatment. In some districts of al-Basrah city, it overflows into the streets and as children play in the pools, diseases break out, some of these diseases are known in Europe only through textbooks."

Professor Gunther also traced cases of premature birth from malnourished mothers. "Moreover, a new undiagnosed disease is seen with abnormal abdominal distention resulted from radioactivity of depleted from uranium bullets left in the battle-field after the U.S- led war against Iraq," he said.

As for psychological effects of war on the children. Professor Gunther said he has been informed of high cases of suicide among children in Mosul. "I witnessed myself on September 11 this year, a dozen allied jets appearing over Mosul, one after another at very low altitudes. Window panels rattled and children ran seeking protection in the houses. It was Friday, a day of prayer for Moslems," he concluded.

Professor Gunther has brought a large quantity of medicine and milk to the children of Iraq. "I will go to Amman, Jordan, to bring more quantities of medicine after one week," he promised.

Minister Says Increased OPEC Output Detrimental

JN0911150692 Baghdad INA in Arabic 1035 GMT 9 Nov 92

[Text] Baghdad, 9 Nov (INA)—Oil Minister Usamah 'Abd-al-Razzaq al-Hiti has affirmed that the policy of some OPEC member states, especially Iran, Saudi Arabia, and the rulers imposed on Kuwait, of increasing their oil output contravenes OPEC decisions and member states' interests. He indicated that this policy serves nobody but the enemy and the personal interests of some misled cliques.

In a statement to INA today, the oil minister said that among the objectives of the policy of flooding the oil market at this time of the year is to obstruct and delay Iraq's return to the world oil market. He said this policy is also aimed to prevent Iraq from playing its positive role in the OPEC and the world market through oil and to prevent the Iraqi people from exploiting their resources, lifting their living standard, and achieving ambitious economic development rates.

The oil minister stressed that the very high rates of increases in oil output by some states has pushed down the oil price. He said that this policy is unjustified, especially since the oil prices at this time of the year usually experience a noticeable rise.

Usamah 'Abd-al-Razzaq al-Hiti affirmed that this policy does not serve the OPEC developing member states, and exhausts the nation's natural resources without anything in return in the interest of the enemies of these nations.

Oil Minister Views Reentry Into Market

JN1211101792 Baghdad INA in Arabic 0800 GMT 12 Nov 92

[Text] Baghdad, 12 Nov (INA)—Oil Minister Usamah 'Abd-al-Razzaq al-Hiti has affirmed that Iraq's reentry into the oil market will not undermine OPEC oil prices.

In a statement to the newspaper AL-THAWRAH published today, he added that Iraq has constantly endeavored to promote OPEC policies, has always been a staunch advocate of price stability, and has always called for enhancing OPEC's efforts to obtain a fixed oil price of $21 per barrel.

The minister noted that Iraq's remaining outside oil markets will lead to market instability, because all parties are well aware that Iraq possesses immense oil reserves, not to mention its high oil production capacity.

The minister stressed that Iraq's reentry into the oil market would be coordinated with the parties concerned so they would not think it would result in a decline in prices.

Concluding his statement, the oil minister indicated that Iraq is extremely concerned for observing OPEC's oil policy; will support all its decisions, which promote the interests of all oil-producing states; and will commit itself to any OPEC decision.

Saddam Authorized To Grant Salaries

JN1011201192 Baghdad AL-THAWRAH in Arabic 6 Nov 92

["Text" of Revolution Command Council Decree No. 293 of 1992]

[Text] In the name of God, the merciful, the compassionate.

The Republic of Iraq,

The Revolution Command Council [RCC],

Decree No. 293,

Date of Decree: 8 Jumada al-Ula 1413 Hegira, 3 November 1992,

Decree:

Based on the provisions of Paragraph A of Article 42 of the

Constitution, the RCC has decided the following:

1. The president of the Republic, or his designee,

is authorized:

A. To grant a monthly salary or a retirement allowance to

whomever he chooses.

B. To exceptionally increase monthly salaries above the

salary ceiling of posts and grades.

C. To exceptionally increase the retirement allowance or

social care allowance above the ceiling of these allowances.

2. This decree shall be published in the Official Gazette.

Relevant authorities shall see it implemented.

[Signed] Saddam Husayn, RCC chairman

Minister Chairs Meeting on Interior Ministry Plan

JN0911145192 Baghdad Republic of Iraq Radio Network in Arabic 2100 GMT 8 Nov 92

[Text] Interior Minister Watban Ibrahim al-Hasan has stressed that the activities of the ministry and police organs aim to ensure stability and reassure the citizens.

While chairing a meeting today to discuss the ministry's working plan and the activities of the directorates of internal security forces in the governorates, the minister said that there should be a fixed strategy for the work of police organs, and that the responsibilities they shoulder should be defined in order to improve their work.

Watban Ibrahim al-Hasan added that we want the plan to utilize all efforts available in order to invest the potentials in a sound manner and as much as we can in order to improve the work and performance of police organs in this stage which our country is passing through.

The minister went on saying that the police organs' ideal duty is primarily to prevent the crime through an alert presence. He pointed out that the police strength is the trust of the people and their cooperation with these organs in order to prevent crimes, chase and arrest criminals, and discover crimes through efficient cadres who are aware of their duties.

The meeting was attended by the Interior Ministry undersecretaries for public administration and security affairs, the directors general, and heads of departments and sections.

IDF Continues Withdrawal From South Lebanon

TA1611172692 Jerusalem Qol Yisra'el in Hebrew 1700 GMT 16 Nov 92

[Text] The IDF [Israel Defense Forces] has already withdrawn half the forces it deployed in Lebanon last week, UN officers in the security zone report. South Lebanon was quiet today.

Our correspondent Yo'av Aviv reports that in an interview to reporters in Beirut, Lebanese Foreign Minister Faris Buwayz attacked Hizballah and said its actions endanger the peace talks. He said the organization's attacks on Israel do not achieve anything and lead to an IDF reaction, which destroys Lebanese villages. Buwayz urged Hizballah to coordinate its actions with the government in Beirut.

4 Civilians Freed From 'Terrorists' in Lebanon

TA1611150992 Tel Aviv IDF Radio in Hebrew 1430 GMT 16 Nov 92

[Text] Following a chase after terrorists by the IDF [Israel Defense Forces] and SLA [South Lebanese Army] in south Lebanon, four Lebanese civilians abducted by terrorists in the central sector of the northern edge of the security zone were released. Menahem Horowitz, our correspondent in the north, reports that the forces started to chase after the terrorists immediately after the four civilians were captured. To repeat, all four have been freed, and the joint forces continue to comb the area for terrorists who escaped the security zone.

Arab Dies, 8 Injured in Jerusalem Old City Blast

TA1611132392 Jerusalem Qol Yisra'el in Hebrew 1300 GMT 16 Nov 92

[Text] One person was killed and eight were injured when an IDF grenade exploded in the Muslim Quarter of Jerusalem's Old City. All of the injured are Arabs.

Jerusalem Police Commander Hayim Albaldes told our correspondent Moshe Nussbaum that the investigation was being held in several directions, including the possibility that the explosion was an accident or a terrorist attack perpetrated by Jews.

Arab shop owners in the area claimed that Jews were responsible for the explosion. Our correspondent noted that Jews also live in the area the grenade was thrown from.

The police detained 12 suspects, all Arabs, for interrogation. Because all the casualties were Arabs, the police have stepped up patrols in the Muslim and Jewish Quarters for fear of reprisal attacks.

'Massive' Demonstration Against Golan Concessions

TA1711080092 Jerusalem Qol Yisra'el in English 0500 GMT 17 Nov 92

[Excerpt] A massive demonstration was held in Tel Aviv last night against territorial compromise on the Golan Heights. Speakers stressed that Prime Minister Rabin has no mandate to discuss withdrawing from the Golan in the peace talks. Alan Ben-'Ami was at the protest:

[Ben-'Ami] The organizers claimed more than 100,000 people came to Kings of Israel Square in the center of Tel Aviv. The police said about half that figure were there. Either way, it was an impressive rally last night by any standard. Buses brought settlers from the Golan Heights and from Judaea, Samaria, and Gaza, and supporters from Jerusalem, Galilee, and the Negev. The square in front of the municipality was filled with people, flags, and banners carrying slogans saying there can be no peace without the Golan, declaring the Rabin government has no mandate for concession on the Golan, and stating they will never leave the Golan Heights.

The organization was a joint effort by Golan settlers and settlers from Judaea, Samaria, and Gaza, the skull-capped youngsters and adults making up the majority of the crowd, but the speakers were nearly all from Golan or Galilee towns and settlements. The aim, said the organizers, was to show that the ordinary people of Israel are opposed to any withdrawal from the Heights, so the politicians were kept off the podium, but a particularly popular figure among the crowd was Golan war hero, now Labor MK [Knesset Member] Avigdor Qahalani.

[Begin Qahalani recording] I believe al-Asad will see this moment, and even Clinton, he will see that, and they will realize what it means for us in the Golan Heights. [end recording]

[Ben-'Ami] Golan settler spokesman Udi Margalit says the next major effort would be to gather signatures on a petition opposing any withdrawal from the Golan Heights. [passage omitted]

Peres Discusses Visit to Cairo, Peace Talks

TA1611181292 Jerusalem Qol Yisra'el in Hebrew 1705 GMT 16 Nov 92

[Report by Knesset reporter Yo'el Nir]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] Most of Shim'on Peres' remarks today to the Knesset Foreign Affairs and Defense Committee dealt with his visit to Egypt. Peres said he made it clear to the Egyptians, and through them to the PLO, that they must differentiate between self-government—autonomy—and independence. It must be clear, he said, that there will be no progress in the negotiations with the Palestinians if they do not understand that self-government will not lead to independence. Nevertheless, Peres offered some movement in what he called the mixed model on autonomy. In other

words, Israeli control over Israeli settlements, Palestinian control over villages on Arab-owned land, and joint control over state lands.

[Begin Peres recording] Self-government is not independence, and they must not try to seek independence from something that is not in fact independence. We said that if that principle is acceptable, then we can make progress in practical matters and find pragmatic solutions. There is a difference between a solution in principle, which will take place at the end of the autonomy, and practical solutions for the period of the autonomy. On the issue of practical solutions, we are prepared to be businesslike and progressive. We will not make solutions in principle before their time has come. [end recording]

But there are those who view what Peres calls the mixed model on the lands as a change in principle in Israel's outlook, or at least an erosion. While Israel previously tended to talk about autonomy for the inhabitants, it is now also talking about autonomy for some of the lands. Peres told the committee an Israeli settlement can exist under non-Jewish rule. Ari'el Sharon asked angrily what he meant by non-Jewish. Peres replied: For my part, it can be Norwegian or Arabic. That is not funny, Sharon said. Autonomy is a formula for a Palestinian state. In my view, territorial compromise is preferable [sentence as heard].

Peres later said that Saddam Husayn's wife had looked for Israeli vegetable and flower seeds in Egypt, which he believes shows there is a chance for an open Middle East. [passage omitted]

Herzog Meets Bush, Sees No Change in U.S. Policy

TA1611191792 Jerusalem Qol Yisra'el in English 1800 GMT 16 Nov 92

[Text] President Hayim Herzog has met with President George Bush at the White House. The meeting marked the first for a high-level visitor conducted by President Bush since he lost the election. Following the meeting, President Herzog said he envisages no changes in U.S. relations with Israel following the Clinton victory. More from Connie Lonn in Washington:

President Herzog paid a poignant farewell visit to President Bush. Afterwards, he said he thanked the U.S. President for his efforts to gain peace between Arabs and Israelis. We asked him about President Bush's plans for James Baker, and about his thoughts on the peace process.

[Begin recording] [Lonn] Did he give any indication whether James Baker will reengage in the peace process for the next few months?

[Herzog] No, we didn't discuss this, and he didn't....It's not for me to discuss with him, it's for him to decide.

[Unidentified correspondent] Mr. President, what changes do you anticipate in U.S. policy toward Israel under a Clinton administration?

[Herzog] I don't anticipate any changes because this is not the first time the administration has changed over the years in the United States. Nations don't have permanent friends or permanent enemies, they only have permanent interests. Israel is an interest of the United States: The common interests that we have to maintain democracy and freedom in the area, and to advance the cause of peace. In my humble view, just as in the past, U.S. policy will continue to be predicated on U.S. interests, and they happen to coordinate with Israeli interests. [end recording]

President Herzog added: The U.S. elections have not interfered with ongoing Israeli-Arab peace talks, which continue at the State Department.

Peres May Meet Clinton, Gore in U.S. in February

TA1611194792 Jerusalem Israel Television Network in Hebrew 1900 GMT 16 Nov 92

[Text] Foreign Minister Shim'on Peres will pay an official visit to the United States in early February, and intends to meet with the leaders of the new administration, who will have taken over only days earlier. Our political correspondent Gadi Sukenik has learned that Peres plans to meet with President Bill Clinton and Vice President Al Gore, but the meetings have not yet been finalized. Mr. Peres' trip is coordinated with Prime Minister Rabin, who is due to go to the United States in March. Our correspondent says it is still unclear whether Rabin will permit Peres to be the first Israeli public figure to confer with the new president in Washington.

Peres Concerned About Iranian 'Menace'

TA1611163892 Jerusalem Qol Yisra'el in Hebrew 1600 GMT 16 Nov 92

[Text] Foreign Minister Shim'on Peres said that the Iranian menace is building, and that Israel will have to focus attention on it. Our correspondent Yo'el Nir reports that the foreign minister told the Knesset Foreign Affairs and Defense Committee that he foresees many problems linked to Iran, not only due to the sale of Russian missile batteries there, but also in the wake of wide-ranging arms sales by Chinese agencies to Iran. The foreign minister said he had raised the Iranian danger in his talks in Cairo yesterday.

Four Abu-Nidal Group Members, Others Released

JN1611213492 Paris Radio Monte Carlo in Arabic 1700 GMT 16 Nov 92

[Randah Habib dispatch from Amman]

[Text] Islamic circles have received with relief King Husayn's amnesty decision, which resulted in the release of more than 1,000 prisoners from Jordanian jails.

Today, the Muslim Brotherhood expressed appreciation for King Husayn's initiative and hoped it would be a message to all parties to work for entrenching democracy and adhering to the law.

For its part, the Islamic Resistance Movement, Hamas, expressed its gratitude and thanks to King Husayn in a cable sent by its official spokesman, Ibrahim Ghawshah. Nine Hamas members, a security official of the Muslim Brotherhood, elements of the Muhammad's Army organization, and Ibrahim Sirbil, the official in charge of the Islamic Jihad Movement—al-Aqsa Battalions—as well as the two Islamic deputies who had been given 20-year prison terms with hard labor, were also released.

It was learned today that four members of the Abu-Nidal [Sabri al-Banna] group and another four Fatah members who were convicted of the crime of placing explosive charges in Jordan in 1984 and 1988 were released. Also released were three members of the Fatah Uprising Movement under Abu-Musa [Sa'id Musa Muragha] who were given life sentences for killing Fahd al-Qawasimah, PLO Executive Committee member, in December 1984.

Muslim Brotherhood, Hamas Welcome Amnesty

JN1711090592 Amman JORDAN TIMES in English 17 Nov 92 pp 1, 5

[By JORDAN TIMES staff reporter Ayman al-Safadi]

[Text] Amman—While "extremely grateful" to His Majesty King Husayn for issuing the general amnesty that led to the release of hundreds of prisoners and detainees, the Muslim Brotherhood movement maintains that deputies Layth Shubaylat, Ya'qub Qirrish and other convicts freed by the pardon were working for the interests of their nation.

"We congratulate ourselves and those released ... who have always supported the causes of their nation, especially the Palestinian issue," the Parliamentary Office of the Brotherhood Bloc at the Lower House of Parliament said in a statement Monday.

The amnesty, said the statement, brought to an end an episode that "we did not want for our (democratic) march and our country." However, the Brotherhood "hopes" that other authorities and institutions in the country will have the same spirit that prompted the general pardon, Brotherhood deputy Hamzah Mansur told the JORDAN TIMES Monday.

In addition to deputies Shubaylat and Qirrish, nine Islamist members sentenced to life imprisonment in connection with the Muhammad's Army case last year, members of the Islamic Resistance Movement, Hamas, and leftist activities were released under the amnesty.

Deputy Mansur stopped short of protesting Mr. Shubaylat's and Mr. Qirrish's innocence but said the Brotherhood "believed there was no case against them." And most of the convicts involved in Mohammad's Army case; who were found guilty of committing terrorist acts in the country, are innocent in the eyes of the Brotherhood, according to Mr. Mansur.

"We hoped that the case (against Mr. Shubaylat and Mr. Qirrish) could have been contained before a sentence was pronounced. But the generous position of His Majesty ended the case and we are completely happy with that," said Mr. Mansur.

The amnesty, which was issued by King Husayn Thursday and has to be approved by Parliament, clears the records of all those affected by it. Accordingly, Mr. Shubaylat and Mr. Qirrish will retain their parliamentary seats.

The Islamic Resistance Movement, Hamas, also received the pardon "with great pleasure."

In a cable to King Husayn Monday, Hamas said "we greatly appreciate this clear and tender spirit towards the people and their youth, who will continue to defend (the nation's) dignity, land and causes.

Hamas said in a statement the Royal Pardon was well received by the movement's leadership wishing "Jordan and all Muslim countries security and stability in order to continue supporting the Palestinian people."

The Brotherhood said it hoped the pardon will send a message to all concerned authorities on the importance of excercising democracy and respect for human rights.

Stressing the Brotherhood's concern for maintaining the democratic and free environment in the Kingdom, Mr. Mansur said the Brotherhood wanted to keep unmarred Jordan's parliamentary experiment, which it hopes to spread across the Arab World.

"In accordance with our basic Islamic principles, which uphold every human's right to freedom of belief and expression, regardless of their political or intellectual beliefs," the Brotherhood has defended public freedoms "through the available means," said the statement.

The statement said the brotherhood has thus approached the case of Mr. Shubaylat and Mr. Qirrish and other prisoners and detainees as a top priority.

"Pointing to the dangers threatening Jordan, the Brotherhood called with reasonable yet loud voice, through all democratic means, for ending these cases in a way that

serves the interests of Jordan; knowing all the time that the voice of wisdom will eventually prevail," said the statement.

The general pardon, it said, did just that.

King's FINANCIAL TIMES Interview Cited

JN1711062992 Amman JORDAN TIMES in English 7 Nov 92 pp 1, 5

[By JORDAN TIMES staff reporter Ayman al-Safadi]

[Text] Amman—In what observers describe as a comprehensive address that charts the future path of the country and the Arab Nation, His Majesty King Husayn has made a resounding call for freedom and democracy in the Arab World.

The future of countries should not be tied to individuals, a new era of freedom and pluralism must commence in the Arab World and the nation must be liberated from tyrants, dictatorships and totalitarian regimes, the King said in a 45-minute televised speech, which was broadcast Thursday and again Friday.

While thanking Jordanians for the tumultuous welcome they accorded him upon his return from successful surgery in the United States in September, the 57-year-old King said: "The life of enlightened people and a vibrant nation cannot be measured by the life of an individual."

"Words cannot do justice to your true deserts nor can they express my appreciation, thanks and gratitude for the true and noble feelings that you have shown me," King Husayn told Jordanians in his first public address since his return.

Hundreds of thousands of Jordanians converged on the capital on Sept. 24 in a spontaneous display of feelings of support and loyalty to the King, who was returning home after a five-week stay abroad during which he underwent surgery.

The King's message to the people, however, was that when death summons, "no hour could be postponed" and the country should be able to continue along the democratic path it has established.

Saying in public for the first time that he had cancer, the King said he finds it incumbent upon himself to "tell you that I will have to travel, at intervals determined by my physicians to the centre where I was treated to... confirm that I have—God willing—been cured."

But while assuring the people of his good health, the King said the people of Jordan realise that their state is "not tied to an individual, a party, a faction, or a class."

King Husayn said a true believer had no fear of what God had ordained for him. He said he had pledged to follow in the footsteps of the founder of the Kingdom, the late King 'Abdallah Ibn-al-Husayn, who perceived himself as "a link in a continuous chain of those who served our nation." When King 'Abdallah died, he passed the flag of Bani-Hashim and Al al-Bayt" to another Hashemite descendent from (the Prophet) Muhammad," the King said.

Since then, he said, he has dedicated his life to the protection of the interests of the Arab Nation and the advancement of Jordan.

"The Hashemite tribe shall as always remain the hub and apex of the Arab Nation's battles in the context of history as well as in the present and the future," and the "Hashemite state shall continue to embody the Islamic-Arab message," he said.

The King said he had no ambition but to serve the nation and to "seek God's approval and to fulfill the trust lodged in me."

Reiterating his commitment to the democratic process in the country, the King said Jordan would further strengthen its democratic foundations so that it will "remain the land of the free.. a land of responsibility whose people recognise balance in all things."

In what observers saw as a warning against extremism, the King stressed that the democratisation process was based on the Constitution and the National Charter "without recklessness, fanaticism, upheaval or overbearing behaviour."

The King also called for keeping the Armed Forces out of politics because the Army, in the words of the late King 'Abdallah, "is only an army. It is the country's sword, its shield, its pride, its voice, its whip, the bane of its enemies..."

Hailing the democratic achievements of Jordan, the King called on the Arab World to follow suit for the sake "of the whole nation."

King Husayn called on the Arab Nation "to cast out the selfish, the defeatists, the spiteful, the ungrateful and the oppressors." But he said the vision must be clear, "the methodology rational and the aspiration human."

"In the name of your nation," King Husayn told Jordanians, "launch a new and comprehensive Arab movement in education and culture, in politics, agriculture and industry; in the protection of rights and in the drive to liberate ourselves from dictatorships, from totalitarian regimes and from a rule by a single faction."

The King appealed to the Arab people to stand up to the "ambitious, and to the renegades; to protect its capitals from those who would advocate tyranny or who would tie the destiny of nations to individuals."

Though the King spoke in general terms and did not refer to any one country, observers interpreted his call against dictatorships in the Arab World as a sign that Jordan is distancing itself from autocratic regimes in the area.

A London-based newspaper Friday quoted the King as saying that there had to be change in Iraq, hoping that the Iraqi people would be "helped in attaining this change."

The King however pledged not to associate Jordan with any struggle for power that might lead to Iraq's disintegration.

"I would like to be absolutely clear that I am not, nor was I ever, ready to link Jordan or myself..to the possibility of association with a group in power that might eventually go down in history as partially responsibile, if not totally responsible, for the destruction of Iraq, or its fragmentation," the King was quoted by the FINANCIAL TIMES, Britain's largest business daily.

Other observers expected the King's call to open "wide the gates of freedom, democracy, pluralism and human rights" in the Arab World not to go well with Arab neighbours alarmed by Jordan's own democratisation process.

They also see the speech as an indication of continued tension between Jordan and some Gulf countries, mainly Saudi Arabia.

Recent reports have indicated that Saudi Arabia had demanded that Jordan apologise for its opposition to the Gulf war before moving towards improving its relations with the Kingdom.

Political analysts said that apology was out of the question and the King's speech confirmed that.

In his speech, the King said that "we have refused to support wrongful occupation or liberation that infringes on sovereignty." It was seen by observers as a reference to Jordan's position that did not condone the Iraqi occupation of Kuwait and opposed the U.S.-led coalition's war to end it. The King said Jordan's stand during the Gulf war was "well justified."

"The (King's) speech has great meanings and drafted the course of a new era with clear dimensions and commitment to democracy," Speaker of the Lower House of Parliament 'Abd-al-Latif 'Arabiyat told the JORDAN TIMES. The call for shura, and the prominence of the Islamic process is clear in the speech and its reference to Al al-Bayt, said Dr. 'Arabiyat. "This is what we want," he said.

Stressing the need for a democratic and free future Arab World, the king said this is an era that enables the nation to break out from the cycle of pain and join the promising warmth of the new times, in a message that he hoped would resound in the name of the nation and Bani-Hashim for a free Jordanian populace and for the noble among the Arabs.

"We shall advance into a world of justice and freedom, not one of oppression; into a spirit of consultation and shura; not one of tyranny," King Husayn said in the speech, which observers say is a national document with reverberations that will resonate across the Arab World.

Hasan Says Time for Change in Iraqi Leadership

PM1611180092 Stockholm SVENSKA DAGBLADET in Swedish 15 Nov 92 p 4

[Report on interview with Crown Prince Hasan in Amman by Cordelia Edvardson; no date given]

[Text] On the wall of Crown Prince Hasan's office in the royal palace hangs a poster he was given by his children. "Even Superman is Clark Kent most of the time," it reminds the viewer. The point is of course that the crown prince should remember that the framed children's paintings which decorate his book shelves are just as important as the files of documents relating to state affairs.

An outsider could interpret the poster in a different way: In the tough climate of the Middle East it is Superman's raw strength and supernatural attributes which are important, and Clark Kent's humanity and shy goodwill are not much use. With all due respect Crown Prince Hasan is probably more of a Clark Kent than a Superman.

On his desk there are the obligatory pictures of his family, but there too, in the center of his field of vision, there is a round frame containing an informal picture of his elder brother, King Husayn. This elder brother has always been surrounded by the glory that accompanies the undaunted: He flies his own plane, navigates his own luxury cruiser, has survived several assassination attempts, and is a women's man and a man of action.

Perhaps this is the reason why the crown prince has chosen to devote himself to the more esoteric and intellectual aspects of life. These are qualities which are not high on the mass media's list of interests, but at present the world's press is standing in line for an exclusive interview with the heir to the throne. The reason is of course the king's cancer and the host of rumors surrounding it.

"A journalist recently asked me whether it was true that the cancer has spread to the liver," the crown prince told SVENSKA DAGBLADET. "I went to my brother and asked him. 'That is not something I have heard,' was his reply."

No matter what the state of the king's health, the crown prince will not be a political novice the day he is called to the throne. It is he who gives instructions to the Jordanian delegation in the peace negotiations with Israel, he deals with a considerable share of Jordan's international relations, and he often appears at all manner of international conferences. So what are his ambitions for Jordan's future?

"I would like to see Jordan as a Helsinki of the Middle East," the crown prince replied. "I agree with Hans Blix

(who is nowadays chairman of the IAEA, the International Atomic Energy Agency) who recently pointed out to me that Jordan, which does not have weapons of mass destruction at its disposal, which is a pluralist society and a place in which different nationalities can meet, could become an international center for intellectual exchange."

The choice of Helsinki as model is no accident. Concepts such as democracy, human rights, a fair distribution of resources in the region, and of course peace are not empty words to him. They are the ideals which lie close to his heart, but he also knows how difficult, if not impossible, they are to achieve in this part of the world. He returned to the problem several times in the course of the interview.

"For example, how can we preserve and defend democracy (in Jordan) when foreign forces are promoting and financing subversive activities and when certain citizens abuse their privileges?" he asked rhetorically.

What he is referring to is the recently completed trial in which two members of parliament belonging to an independent Islamic fundamentalist group we sentenced by a military court to 20 years' penal servitude for subversive activities. The sentence was criticized both inside and outside Jordan: first, because there can be no appeal and second, because the evidence was considered to be insufficient. On the other hand there are few who doubt that it was Iran which financed and armed this attempt to spread the Islamic revolution.

Thus despite all democratic goodwill there are situations in which democracies have to be suspended temporarily to save democracy in the longer term, the crown prince seems to want to say. It is of course part of the picture that two days after the sentence was passed the king declared a general amnesty for political crimes. Thus the two members of parliament are free to return to their political activities.

This sort of catch-22 came up again when the crown prince talked about the peace process in the Middle East.

"Signing a piece of paper (a peace agreement) is not an end in itself," he said. "Peace is not a bilateral affair; it must be put in an overall regional context. When the Europeans think about the Middle East, they only think about the Arab-Israeli conflict. But there is also the Persian Gulf, Iran, Iraq, Turkey, the Central Asian republics, and so on. What is at stake is the stability, the economic and social development of the whole region, the security aspect, and more."

I pointed out to the crown prince that he actually has a kindred spirit in Israeli Foreign Minister Shimon Peres. He too generally puts the Arab-Israeli conflict in a broader regional context.

"Yes, indeed," Crown Prince Hasan replied, "but I see no check at the end of the tunnel. And by check I not only mean economic aid, where the Europeans could play an important role, but also general political support for political-social democracy and a fair distribution policy throughout the region."

But can the crown prince's dreams of a "new order" in the whole of the Middle East be realized in an region in which democracy, respect for human rights, and the citizen's fundamental freedoms and rights are the exception? Could even a Superman achieve this? Inevitably the example of Iraq surfaced.

"As far as Iraq's leadership is concerned," Crown Prince Hasan said, "we have made it perfectly clear—loudly and unambiguously—that it is time for a revolutionary change. On the other hand, as far as the Iraqi people is concerned, I have always said that it would be better to open channels to the Iraqi people, open the borders to food and support for this starving people."

Another catch-22? A revolutionary change at the top could very well lead to a collapse of Iraq's national identity. And of course what Jordan wants least of all is a new Lebanon as a neighbor. The solution might perhaps be to return to the old historical order when the Hashemites ruled in Iraq as well as Jordan? The crown prince called this "dangerous thinking," such talk could be taken to mean that "little Jordan does not know its place," but on the other hand he takes the view that if the Iraqis want the Hashemites (as leaders) then perhaps the time has come for the Iraqis to say so out loud.

Once Crown Prince Hasan has become King Hasan, will he then long for his time as crown prince?

"You always long for the time when you were younger and shouldered less responsibility," he replied. In other words: He will long for the time which allowed him to be Clark Kent rather than Superman.

Khaddam Views Peace Process, Lebanon

PM1311143092 London AL-MAJALLAH in Arabic 11-17 Nov 92 pp 22-27

[Interview with Syrian Vice President 'Abd-al-Halim Khaddam by Ibrahim 'Awad in Damascus; date not given]

[Text] ['Awad] What point have we reached in the peace negotiations? Are we at the beginning of the road, in the middle, or nearing the end?

[Khaddam] The negotiations started about a year ago but we are still at the beginning of the road. It is a major battle in which we are doing everything we can to regain Arab rights but the Israeli position is still the same: zero. We should continue the process within the context of our defined aims; namely, liberation of the territory, restoration of rights, and the establishment of peace in the region on the basis of the Security Council resolutions.

['Awad] There is some fear that the negotiations may falter with Clinton in the White House. What do you think of that?

[Khaddam] There are many speculations on this matter. Let us wait and see what positions the new administration takes. If there are positions which run counter to our interests then we will certainly work for the preservation of these interests.

['Awad] There is some Palestinian fear, expressed by PLO Chairman Yasir 'Arafat, of a separate agreement between Syria and Israel.

[Khaddam] Syria has a consistent policy and a clear strategy. That strategy is based on the establishment of a just and comprehensive peace in the region. We have had consistent principles in our discussions with the American side and when President George Bush introduced his initiative. One of these consistent principles is this matter of a comprehensive solution. We do not draw up our policy on the basis of reactions to a statement made by one party or another. Our policy is drawn up in the light of our pan-Arab concept and our national interests. When we made the condition that the solution should be comprehensive, we did not do so for Syria's sake but also for Lebanon's sake and for the sake of the Palestinian people, Jordan, and the entire Arab nation. As I said, we have a clear strategy. I do not want to comment on what one Palestinian official or another says. We have been and still are interested in Arab coordination. We were the ones who initiated the formation of the coordination committee of foreign ministers of the states directly concerned with the conflict. We have not submitted ideas exclusively for Syria. All the ideas we have raised and are raising relate to the Arab-Israeli conflict as a whole. As known, there are negotiations on several tracks. There is a Lebanese track, a Syrian track, a Palestinian track, and a Jordanian track. When, in our discussions with the American side, the context and foundations of the Palestinian track were presented to us, we did not approve. It is known that the Palestinian track is a two-phase track, the first phase is temporary and the other is final. We did not agree to that. In another meeting with former U.S. Secretary of State James Baker, he told us that the Palestinians had accepted the U.S. proposals. So, they chose that course and they are negotiating on it. Naturally, we do not interfere in the way they negotiate nor in the negotiations even though the Arab delegations are anxious to coordinate among themselves in the hope, as an Arab side, of achieving a comprehensive solution.

One thing must be said in this connection, which is that nobody can call into doubt the position of Syria, which has shouldered and is still shouldering the main burden in the Arab-Israeli conflict and which has made and is still making sacrifices. Therefore, we hope that those trying to arouse such doubt will not miscalculate or misjudge because that would not be in their interest.

['Awad] It has been claimed that the 'Arafat statement caused some coolness in his relations with Damascus and resulted in the postponement of a scheduled visit he was supposed to make to Damascus. How true is that?

[Khaddam] As I have already said, Syria's positions are not adopted as reactions to statements made here and there. I did not know that Yasir 'Arafat wished to visit Syria.

['Awad] After Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhaq Rabin's invitation to President Hafiz al-Asad to visit Israel, the Western media have been wondering if the Syrian president would indeed make such a visit. I should mention here that talk about it in Israeli circles has reached the point of even saying what food would be prepared for the visiting president.

[Khaddam] That is totally out of the question. Therefore, it is not worth commenting on, because it is out of the question.

['Awad] According to some press reports, preparations are under way for a referendum in which the people would be asked to say what they think of peace with Israel. Is there any such measure?

[Khaddam] We do not pursue a policy our people do not want. If we thought that the position of Syrian public opinion was different, we would abide by what the people want. The referendum carried out regarding renewal of the term of President Hafiz al-Asad, the leader of Syria, showed unanimous support for President al-Asad's policy. Therefore, it is too early to say that there will be a referendum on that matter. The Syrian leadership has a mandate from the people given unanimously when the president's term was renewed. Before talking about a referendum or anything else, it must be asked: Could such a matter be discussed while the negotiations are still in their initial stage?

['Awad] If the negotiations reach an advanced stage, would there then be a possibility of such a referendum?

[Khaddam] That matter would be discussed when the time comes.

['Awad] The Lebanese people were optimistic when Rafiq al-Hariri formed the new [Lebanese] cabinet. How do you view the situation in Lebanon after al-Hariri's assumption of the premiership?

[Khaddam] Lebanon has passed through several phases since the national accord document was signed. The first was when the Lebanese state and the Lebanese authority restored the unity of decisionmaking and the unity of the institutions when the mutiny of former Army Commander Michel 'Awn was ended. The second was when the militias were dissolved, the heavy and medium arms were collected, and the national accord government was formed. The third was when the parliamentary elections took place. Now the fourth phase begins. It is the phase of national accord consolidation, beginning the reconstruction, return of the evacuees, consolidation of the state's authority and institutions, and building up these institutions. For that phase, the parliamentary majority appears to have chosen Rafiq al-Hariri as prime minister. We wish him every success. As we told all Lebanese officials, Syria will continue to provide the Lebanese state and its institutions with every aid and support so that Lebanon would reach the phase where it would be able to fully play its natural role as a unified and independent country liberated from the foreign enemy, which is the Israeli enemy, and liberated from the internal pressures of the past phase of civil war. We hope that al-Hariri will succeed in fulfilling the tasks stated in the national accord charter and upheld through the election of the new chamber of deputies.

['Awad] Certain Lebanese parties are emphatic that the Syrian forces would never withdraw from Lebanon. As a reminder, they mention past decisions issued uder the reign of former President Amin al-Jumayyil calling for the withdrawal of the Syrian Army, which did not happen. What is your answer to these parties?

[Khaddam] Amin al-Jumayyil's decision was illegitimate. It would have been considered legitimate if it had been made by the legitimate insitutions. Al-Jumayyil just sent a letter to the Arab League at the time. There was no decision by the legitimate institutions regarding this matter. Furthermore, at that time Lebanon was divided and in a civil war. The vast majority of the Lebanese people were of one mind and al-Jumayyil of another. He did not represent the views of the vast majority of the Lebanese people. As known, he wanted to impose a situation providing for the defeat of the vast majority of the Lebanese people and the continued factional and individual control of the Lebanese state. The question of our withdrawal or nonwithdrawal is governed by commitment to the national accord charter which is the embodiment of the al-Ta'if agreement. It is also governed by the existing cooperation treaty between the two countries and by mutual and common interests. There are no parties talking about Syrian withdrawal from Lebanon, but there are elements whose interests have suffered as a result of the national accord, security, and stability in Lebanon. That is why from time to time they play that tune. That is in addition to certain foreign parties which believe that a Syrian withdrawal from Lebanon would make it easier for them to control it. We want Lebanon to have an adequate security force, in other words a strong army and strong internal security that would ease Syria's burdens. What do we gain from our presence in Lebanon? We are shouldering many burdens and are making sacrifices which others have been unable to make. At any rate, withdrawal is something that is discussed by the two governments in the light of the resources available to the Lebanese state, in a manner that would not lead to a "new Bosnia" in Lebanon nor to a new war. We care about Lebanon and its security much more than these voices whose target is really not the Syrian forces but security, stability, and peace in Lebanon.

['Awad] I understand from what you are saying that you would rather withdraw from Lebanon today not tomorrow.

[Khaddam] Yes. As I said, our attention is focused on two things. The first is security, stability, and nonrenewal of the war in Lebanon. That is linked to the growth of the Lebanese state's forces. The second is the Israeli occupation of the south. These two matters are related to basic Lebanese and Syrian interests. The governments of the two countries are the parties best qualified to determine how these two matter should be tackled.

['Awad] There are rumors in Lebanon that the al-Ta'if agreement will begin to disappear as a result of the parliamentary elections and the emergence of a new chamber of deputies speaker. Is that how you see it?

[Khaddam] The Al-Ta'if agreement has several foundations. The first is the constitutional reforms related to the institutions and jurisdictions; that is, definition of the powers of the president of the republic, of the prime minister, and of the legislative authority. That was approved by the former chamber of deputies and the constitution was amended. So, that part of the al-Ta'if agreement has been implemented. Another part still has not been implemented because the agreement links its implementation to another phase that is to do with the abolition of political sectarianism. The al-Ta'if agreement, which became the national charter after its approval by the Chamber of Deputies in 1989, stipulates that the first Chamber of Deputies elected on a 50-50 Muslim-Christian ratio should take the necessary measures to abolish political sectarianism and that a committee consisting of the president of the republic, the speaker of the Chamber of Deputies, the prime minister, and a number of politicians would draft a phased program for the abolition of that sectarianism. So, that part has not been implemented because it was linked to the election of a new Chamber of Deputies. That has now taken place. The Lebanese and all the Arab brothers hope that the chamber will shoulder its responsibility and move to implement that part.

['Awad] Some sources say that before the parliamentary elections, some senior officials tried to persuade Syria and come to some understanding with it regarding the need to postpone these elections, and that when you did not accept that, these officials accepted the fait accompli and carried out the elections. Is there any truth in that?

[Khaddam] Who were these officials?

['Awad] Some ministers and close officials came to convince you of that.

[Khaddam] Who came?

['Awad] Minister George Sa'adah, for example. There is also talk in Lebanon that President Ilyas al-Hirawi requested Maronite Patriarch Sfayr to oppose the elections to make it easy for him to reach an understanding with the Syrians on their postponement.

[Khaddam] That is untrue. It is fabricated from start to finish. President Ilyas al-Hirawi and his government adhered to holding the elections, because they are the most important phase in the implementation of the national accord charter and the establishment of peace. Without elections Lebanon remains in a state of imbalance due to the feeling that the war is not over. The phase in which the Lebanese feel that the war has ended forever lies in the holding of the elections. This is why the Lebanese president and his government insisted on holding these elections. And what President al-Hirawi was said to have told the patriarch is merely a lie to justify the positions adopted by some people who called for the elections not to be held. That is one point. The other point is that Syria is not the one to decide on such a matter or other Lebanese domestic affairs. The elections are purely a Lebanese domestic process. There are some people who opposed the elections. They can be classified in two groups: The first rejects the present regime in Lebanon in the first place. It also rejects the national accord charter. It also rejects the reform policies. And it wants to return Lebanon to the pre-civil war stage. As for the second group, it represents the hesitant and "cheese-eaters." Those who belong to it want a share of the government cheese. They also want to keep a hand on the opposition cheese. In the end they did not get to eat either part of the opposition cheese or the government cheese.

['Awad] What about Minister George Sa'adah, who played an effective role in the al-Ta'if charter? Did he not come to you, asking for the elections to be postponed?

[Khaddam] A Pahalangist Party delegation headed by Dr. George Sa'adah came to us, and our reply was clear; namely, that the elections were purely a Lebanese matter. We told them that Lebanon's interests lie in the holding of the elections. Failure to hold them would lead to major political setbacks and aggravate the state of instability in Lebanon. And thus we do not want to put any pressure on the regime or the opposition. And since the Chamber of Deputies and the Lebanese Government has decided to hold the elections, we support this decision. We urged the Phalangist delegation not to submit to the blackmail of the first group to which I referred earlier and to continue its course in the national accord process. I concluded that the delegation understood the situation, but we were all surprised by the Phalangist Party Politburo's decision not to participate in the elections.

['Awad] And what is your interpretation of that sudden position?

[Khaddam] We do not make any interpretation. Hesitation on important points does not serve any issue. On the contrary, it inflicts bigger harm on any issue espoused by the hesitant.

['Awad] The elections were held and boycotted by a large group of Christians. Do you not believe that these elections contain some harm for the Lebanese bird with its Muslim and Christian wings?

[Khaddam] Lebanon is a bird with one body; that is, the Lebanese people. Some people always say that Lebanon is a bird with two wings, but this conflicts with the concept of the country's unity. The Christians did not boycott the elections. Hundreds of thousands of the evacuees who left Lebanon during the civil war did not participate in the elections due to their being outside Lebanon. These represent over 60 percent of the Christian voters in Lebanon and are not regarded as old expatriates. They left Lebanon after the war broke out in 1975. On the other hand, there are Christian figures whose Maroniteness no one can doubt. They entered the election process, believing that the elections were in Lebanon's interests. Who can doubt the Maroniteness of Qabalan 'Isa al-Khuri, Sulayman Tony Franjiyah, Habib Kayruze, Sayid 'Aql, Na'ilah Mu'awwad, Jean 'Ubayd, Istifan al-Duwayhi, Nasib Lahhud, Pierre Hulw, Fu'ad al-Sa'd, and present Kasrawan deputies Faris Buwayz, Ilyas al-Khazin, and Samir 'Azar?! How can it be said that these are not Maronites because they participated in the elections, and that those who boycotted the elections with good or bad intention are the Maronites?! Where is the logic in this?

['Awad] Perhaps because the patriarch was regarded as a symbol of that opposition?

[Khaddam] I believe that that is a political issue. If every clergyman in Lebanon wants to regard himself as an authority for those who belong to his faith or sect, that would lead to further fragmentation of national unity in Lebanon. It would also lead to abolishing the politicians' role. If a clergyman—Muslim or Christian—wants to regard himself as a political and social authority, then what is the politicians' role? What is the institutions' role? And what is the Chamber of Deputies' and Council of Ministers' role? What is the political leaderships' and political parties' role? So I believe that the Lebanese do not promote the saying that the clergyman is the

authority, despite their and our respect for clergymen and their major role in safeguarding national unity in Lebanon.

['Awad] Do you believe that the page of war has been turned completely in Lebanon and that the process of collecting the arms has been conducted as required?

[Khaddam] Heavy and medium weapons outside the southern region have actually been collected. As far as I know, Lebanese security forces carry out raids from time to time, searching for hidden arms. We should expect that some people will hide a weapon here and a weapon there. But Lebanese security organs are active and their raids sometimes lead to the seizure of arms and other times lead to nothing. This is in the knowledge that some militias have sold their arms abroad: to Yugoslavia and elsewhere. The war in Lebanon is over and will not return. And no one can bring back that war, because the Lebanese are unanimously agreed on completely getting rid of the war, its causes, its motives, and its effects. And we back and support this unanimity.

['Awad] Arab differences seem to be increasing since the war to liberate Kuwait. What role is Syria playing to eliminate these differences or improve the Arab atmosphere?

[Khaddam] The Arab situation is painful and saddening. This situation is the natural result of numerous factors, including Iraq's invasion of Kuwait. That invasion represented a big earthquake which led to a big crack in the Arab building. The international situation itself was also a big earthquake which led to the cracking of the Arab structure. The third thing is the preoccupation of most Arab states with their domestic concerns and marginal issues, in addition to ignoring the main threats to the Arabs and their destiny. Among these threats is the Zionist threat. And if this rift and fragmentation continue as they stand, the results will be fatal to the Arab nation as a whole, and no one will be spared the devastating results of this fragmentation. With regard to Syria, President Hafiz al-Asad is devoting great attention to this matter, and the Arab situation was among the aims of his recent Gulf tour. And we are making constant contacts to look for means designed to stop the collapse and give us all a breathing space in order to continue to search for a better path, whether through the Arab League institution or outside it, to improve the atmosphere of joint Arab action and achieve a new Arab situation that serves everyone and wards off harm away from all.

['Awad] Is there Syrian-Saudi cooperation in this connection?

[Khaddam] Relations between us and the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia are good. And the discussions which took place between President al-Asad and King Fahd Bin-'Abd-al-'Aziz were serious and beneficial. Our conclusions regarding the Arab situation were the same, and contacts between the two countries are continuing.

['Awad] A final question away from politics: Some people criticize "Abu-Jamal" for resorting sometimes to stinging criticism in his conversations with Lebanese officials and politicians. What is your comment on this criticism?

[Khaddam] There is no stinging criticism. But the truth must be told in good time, and some people tend to find the truth stinging. discovered in queue after deadline.

Al-Shar' Holds Ankara Talks on Iraq Issues

WA1611170292

For reportage on the talks in Ankara by Foreign Minister al-Shar', including his discussions on Iraq with Turkish Foreign Minister Cetin and Iranian Foreign Minister Velayati, see the Turkey section of the 16 November West Europe DAILY REPORT.

Iran

Clinton Victory, 'Zionist Tricks' Viewed

NC1511215692 Tehran KAYHAN INTERNATIONAL (WEEKLY EDITION) in English 5 Nov 92 p 2

[Editorial: "And Now Clinton"]

[Text] Bill Clinton is America's new president. After 12 years a Democrat will lead a country whose people seem to be lost in a sea of problems. Their state of affairs, however, would be different if they really cared to understand how Zionists turn and twist their destiny especially when the country comes up for the presidential elections. Victories and defeats in the U.S. have got something to do with what Zionist lobbies think about the making of that country's eco-political setup.

And not surprisingly, many who may have reluctantly or otherwise sent the Arkansas governor to the White House, are skeptical about what holds for them and their children in the years to come. Though Clinton, 46, ran a tough and shrewd campaign against George Bush for a better part of 1992, drew large crowds and "motivated" the electorate, his skills will be tested when it comes to fulfilling election promises.

"This election is a clarion call for our country to face the challenges of the end of the cold war and the beginning of the next century to restore growth to our country and opportunity to our people, to empower our own people so they can take more responsibility for their own lives", Clinton told his supporters. He vowed to confront problems "too long ignored". Israeli politicians and Zionist settlers in the occupied territories were also listening, indeed, carefully.

Aware of vital factors that hurt the Bush camp in the past several months, the president-elect focused his campaign agenda on internal issues. Foreign affairs understandably got scant attention during the so-called brutal campaign. After Bush prided in the "victory" of his country and its allies against Saddam Husayn's Kuwaiti venture, the U.S. economy started to show real signs of trouble and its architect was repeatedly referred to in the national media as the "foreign policy president." The Republican leader had for known reasons put the whole set of critical domestic problems on the back seat, including the economy, AIDS and the environment.

The new U.S. chief executive has visibly succeeded in overturning 12 years of Bush and Reaganomics, but with what he intends to replace it and win, again remains to be seen. Though he was not well-known nationally, Clinton's victory sent the Republican incumbent down by a landslide. Character and values of leaders came up often in the presidential race as Bush strategists zoomed on the governor's extramarital affairs and draft record in the Vietnam war.

As usual many world leaders were congratulating the new president soon after the first results were declared. Almost all said they look forward to "work closely" with America under a Clinton administration. The Zionist state was more than pleased at the outcome.

According to the Israelis, "George was getting out of step" with the power politics in Washington. The Bush White House was slightly ignoring the draconian influence of the Zionist lobby in America's power structure in its search for a solution to the Middle East conflict, they believed.

The Arabs are in a state of shock. They are aware that Clinton is openly pro-Israel and during the campaign had reportedly said that he would distance his administration from Bush's pro-Arab policies.

Republican or Democrat, all first-timers running for high offices in the U.S. cannot afford not to be pro-Israel. They are fully up-dated on how Zionist tricks can work, and do work, in election years. The Bush defeat was, rather, another example of the kind.

Clinton Reproached for 'Careless' Remarks

NC1611121692 Tehran JOMHURI-YE ESLAMI in Persian 7 Nov 92 p 2

[Unattributed commentary: "Clinton Needs Practice in Expressing Political Views"]

[Text] In his first interview after winning the recent election, U.S. President-elect Bill Clinton said: "We are ready to establish normal diplomatic relations with Iran on condition that Tehran bring itself in line with Washington." He told THE NEW YORK TIMES correspondent: "Establishing relations with Iran depends on Iran giving up its strong political slogans, bringing itself into line with Washington, and cooperating with its regional neighbors to establish peace and tranquility."

Clinton made this statement when enthusiasm over his victory had yet to die down. He is one of the inexperienced figures on the U.S. political scene. His biography shows that he never held a significant position to make him competent to express views on important political issues. Naturally his statement on an important issue like diplomatic relations between the United States and the Islamic Republic of Iran does not merit much attention.

Clinton is a newcomer and needs some practice before he speaks. So careless were these remarks by someone who is preparing to move into the White House that we feel we must make some points on relations between the United States and the Islamic Republic of Iran to clarify the situation for him.

If Clinton looked at the press archives of recent years or at least held confidential talks with the top or second-ranked Republicans who ruled the United States for the past 12 years, he would easily realize that in relations between the United States and the Islamic Republic of Iran, it was always the United States that stuck out a hand of need to Iran.

In the past decade the U.S. President, the secretaries of state and the assistant secretaries of state, and many congressmen have often referred to the need to reestablish relations between the United States and the Islamic Republic of Iran. Some have even overtly said that Tehran has not replied to these requests.

But it is customary for the West's propaganda system to propound imaginary conditions whenever it feels the need for relations with the Islamic Republic of Iran. During the past few years and because of their idiotic support of Salman Rushdie, the British too have lost relations with the Islamic Republic of Iran and have often stated their interest in reestablishing diplomatic ties with Iran. But they have always preferred to voice this interest in such a way as to avoid losing more political face than they have already have.

Whether Clinton is speaking as he does because he has been brought up in such a system of political propaganda as he has been or whether his recent statement truly stems from lack of information, a reality must be explained to him: The United States is the staunch enemy of the Iranian nation and as long as the Muslim Iranian people do not see the Americans moving to correct their unforgivable mistakes against the Islamic Republic of Iran, they will not be ready to answer political requests by American Presidents and other statesmen.

Iran believes, on the basis of its logical and principled criteria, that the Americans are not sincere in their relations with Islamic Iran. For over 50 years the colonialist United States interfered in Iran's domestic affairs with the objective of plundering its economic resources and destroying Iran's culture. It is from this that the Iranian nation's rage and aversion stem. This rage and aversion form a logical approach to the criminal and hegemonistic policies of a government that is trampling on all humanitarian principles and recognized international criteria and that wants to pave the bumpy road before it with mischievous and dastardly acts. The United States should stop its mischief.

To improve his incomplete knowledge of the nature of relations between American statesmen and the Islamic Republic of Iran, Clinton should again glance at the abominable record of White House behavior toward Iran during the past 14 years. This will clarify Clinton's thoughts and prevent him from uttering thoughtless remarks. As well as Clinton, the other Democrat leaders should study the situation. They know why they failed in presidential elections in the past 12 years, so it is better for them to get more informed so that they are not again left out of the political scene for another decade or so.

Ministry Rejects Statement on Disputed Islands

LD1611195492 Tehran IRNA in English 1829 GMT 16 Nov 92

[Text] Tehran, Nov. 16, IRNA—The Foreign Ministry said here today that the statement issued by five defence ministers of Persian Gulf littoral states in connection with the Iranian islands of Abu Musa, Greater Tunb and Lesser Tunb has no political validity.

"The statements of the defence ministers of the five Persian Gulf littoral states regarding the Iranian islands of Greater Tunb and Lesser Tunb and repetition of groundless claims runs counter to political realities of the region," said the Foreign Ministry.

It said the statement of the five Arab defence ministers also betrays that they lack a correct knowledge of the Islamic Republic's principled policies and of the need to establish peace and stability in such a strategic waterway.

"Those who signed the statement should be aware that raising such claims spells trouble for themselves rather than any other people," the Foreign Ministry statement warned.

It made it clear that as before the Islamic Republic of Iran would not allow any country to interfere in its internal affairs or infringe upon its territorial integrity.

The Islamic Republic, sticking to the principle of peaceful coexistence and adopting a policy of self-restraint and in order to foil plots of those opposed to the security and stability of the region, has tried to solve the dispute over Abu Musa through peaceful negotiations, the statement reminded.

The five Persian Gulf states who attended the defence ministers meeting in Kuwait and drafted the statement against Iran were Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, the UAE, Bahrain and Oman. Qatar opted to stay out of the 2-day meeting.

Dailies Criticize GCC Statement

LD1711112192 Tehran IRNA in English 1028 GMT 17 Nov 92

[Text] Tehran, Nov. 17, IRNA—Two morning dailies Tuesday commented on the unfriendly statement issued last Sunday by five members of the (Persian) Gulf Cooperation Council (P)GCC against Iran in the row with the UAE on the Abu Musa island issue, saying that it was meant to serve the "internal requirements" of these countries.

Qatar boycotted the meeting in protest to the Saudi aggression against its territory.

The Persian daily 'JOMHURI-YE ESLAMI' in a commentary said that the recent session of the (P)GCC defense ministers was formed under conditions that the council members had extensive internal differences.

It said the (P)GCC act of overlooking internal conflicts and constant effort to fuel a new tension in the region is "questionable and rather funny."

The paper underlined that the recent stands adopted by the (P)GCC come from those statesmen who advocate American and Israeli policies in the region, those who

were afraid of coming to power of the demcorats in the U.S. and their strongly pro-Zionist policy.

Now, the paper said, they are trying to take steps in favor of Zionism so as to make theM satisfied. The adoption of such a policy, especially under conditions that the 6th round of the "futile and treacherous" talks between Arabs and the Zionist regime has started, is not an accident. Those who try to keep the Abu Musa issue as a hotpoint, despite the fact that the process of events is going towards understanding, are neither UAE sympathizers nor defenders of its territorial integrity but rather "mercenaries who have been instructed to do so."

"It seems that the goodwill of the Islamic Republic of Iran in the Persian Gulf is constantly faced with the malintention of those who prefer an indecent life under the bayonets of the uninvited American soldiers in the region to a peaceful and honorful coexistence in the region."

The commentary in conclusion asked whether the "decent and logical policies" of the Islamic Republic were in line with the present condition in the region and whether it was not better to react accordingly against the acts of those who intentionally advocate the Zionist policy of "creating crisis spots" and provide the ground for further presence of aggressive foreign forces in the region.

The 'TEHRAN TIMES' termed the (P)GCC statement as "proclamations which are meant to serve the internal requirements of these countries and not as a serious threat."

The editorial in the English daily said that once again they "have committed a blunder...and by issuing an unfriendly statement, have taken a step in the direction of creating another tension in the region."

"That part of the statement which contained the attack on Iran, reflects deep differences within the council, and in fact the whole statement could be considered as a cover-up for those differences."

"Under the circumstances, and at time when the tension relating to the Abu Musa island is taking its natural course and the Arab teachers of the schools in the island have returned to their homes, it is not clear why the littoral countries in the southern Persian Gulf should be intent on creating a new round of tension in their relations with Iran which is against the emergence of any kind of tension in the region."

Noting that the (P)GCC countries are worried about the victory of the Democrat Bill Clinton in the U.S. presidential election, it said they fear that the Democrats will put them under pressure because of lack of democratic freedoms and the non-existence of parliaments in these countries. "They are thus trying to divert the American leaders' attention from the internal conditions in these countries, by drawing attention to imaginary external threats" and "to introduce Iran as a potential hazard to their security."

"The military capability of these countries was put to test on the day Kuwait was occupied, and thus no new experiment seems to be necessary in this regard," the editorial concluded.

The Foreign Ministry in an announcement last night said that the (P)GCC statement has "no politicial validity" and that it betrays that the (P)GCC countries "lack a correct knowledge of the Islamic Republic's principled policies and of the need to establish peace and stability in such a strategic waterway."

Rafsanjani Decries 'Propaganda' on Arms Purchases

LD1711123592 Tehran Voice of the Islamic Republic of Iran First Program Network in Persian 1030 GMT 17 Nov 92

[Text] In a meeting this morning with a group of managers and deputies from the security-intelligence organization of the Islamic Revolution Guards Corps [IRGC], President Hashemi-Rafsanjani termed the extensive propaganda of Western media regarding arms purchases by Iran as a hue and cry by some Western countries trying to bring political pressure on Iran. The president said Westerners thought Islamic Iran would disintegrate after the [Iran-Iraq] war and officials would not be able to reconstruct the country. But in the past two to three years they have seen that Iran has been taking effective steps in the reconstruction of its industry through infrastructural works, and thus they are feeling concerned.

The president emphasized that the Western media keep silent about the huge arms purchases by the regional countries and occupied Palestine, which are smaller countries than Iran. But they make a commotion about the purchase of several submarines and claim that the regional balance is disturbed.

The president emphasized: Westerners see that with the rule of unity and strength in Iran, the people and officials solve one difficulty after the other. The budget deficit has been solved, investment has had a significant increase, exports are brisk, bureaucratic reforms are being implemented, in many cases there is a balance between supply and demand for commodities, the unemployment rate is decreasing, factory production is up, and the main industries have expanded. This is why they are looking for excuses to bring pressure on Iran.

Mr Hashemi-Rafsanjani pointed out that by bringing up the issue that Iran is trying to become the regional military power through the purchase of advanced technology, Westerners and their broadcasting agencies seek to create worries for regional countries and thus sell them more arms and hamper the strengthening of friendly relations between Iran and these countries.

The president emphasized that the Islamic Republic of Iran, as it has shown practically till now, respects the territorial integrity of the regional countries and hopes for the establishment of peace and stability in the region.

The president also pointed out the IRGC's great services to the country and the revolution. He said that in the 15 years of revolution, the IRGC has thwarted significant threats to the revolution—in confronting the counterrevolutionaries, in its presence in the war, its presence on the revolution's scenes, its cultural activities, and its effective participation in reconstruction. Mr Hashemi-Rafsanjani said the success of IRGC has been due to the faithful and revolutionary forces in this institution. He said the IRGC is like a strong shield in confronting the aggressions of the enemy.

In another part of his speech the president pointed to the IRGC's important security-intelligence responsibilities. He said the structure of the IRGC, with regard to the faithful and revolutionary personnel, has an honored past and this important fact guarantees the well-being of this revolutionary institution. The president said the security-intelligence forces must be accurate, firm, realistic, and honest in the implementation of their important duties. Emphasizing the need for professional and technical training for the intelligence personnel, the president said the personnel of this force must enjoy the most advanced professional training in their work.

Finally, the president said the existence of friendly relations between the people and the country's military forces is an honor for the country. He said the existence of trust between the people and the military forces is an ideal for all societies.

Before the president's speech, the head of the IRGC security-intelligence organization reported on the activities of this institution.

Russian Envoy Views Submarine Sales, Ties

NC1411153092 Tehran ABRAR in Persian 9 Nov 92 pp 1, 2

[Interview with Vladimir Gudev, Russian ambassador to the Islamic Republic of Iran, by ABRAR correspondent Ruzbeh Bulhari in Tehran; date not given]

[Text] [Bulhari] What are the priorities in Russian foreign policy? Have they changed compared with the past?

[Gudev] There is no doubt that the current priorities in Russian foreign policy stem from the deep upheavals which took place against the former regime. We bade farewell to the regime which was known throughout the world as totalitarian. We are no longer the regime which would view the world from an ideological point of view. New values have replaced the old ones, including adherence to democracy and opening the country to foreigners, as well as to other positive standards that follow the trend of the contemporary world.

Among the other priorities of Russian foreign policy are equitable cooperation with foreign countries, which includes efforts for making humanitarian values prevail, such as peace and abstinence from war. We do not have any problems in implementing these principles, as we have adapted ourselves to them.

Our relations with the CIS is another of our foreign policy principles, which have replaced those of the Soviet Union. These countries are not only the closest neighbors of Russia, but also have deep historical ties with Russia. (It would not be out of place if I mention here that the center and capital of Russia is Kiev in Ukraine, and not Moscow).

Russia has economic, cultural, and ethnic bonds with these countries. There are 25 million Russians in these countries, who constitute a considerable part of their populations and are active in the economic and cultural affairs of the former republics of the Soviet Union.

I should state that the economy of the Soviet Union was based on these republics collectively and should have been reactivated. Unfortunately, the political demarcation of boundaries, which took place in the former Soviet Union last year, had a very negative effect on the collective economy of the CIS. This is a fact which the CIS member countries and even the republics which were members of the Soviet Union, but are no longer CIS members, have realized and accepted.

In my opinion, the weakening of the relations of the former Soviet Union became the cause for the stagnation of production, the decline in the people's standards of living, and an economic crisis in all the republics of the former Soviet Union.

Another Russian foreign policy priority is relations with the neighbors of the former Soviet Union. We want the broadening of economic cooperation and development and the strengthening of good-neighborly relations with these countries.

These countries are considered our traditional friends and include the North European countries (Scandinavia and Finland), Central and Eastern Europe (I should mention that these countries are not currently under Moscow's influence), and the PRC, Iran, Turkey, India, and Afghanistan, which are situated in the southern and eastern borders of the former Soviet Union. All these countries enjoy special importance in the Asian continent.

We want friendly relations with all these countries, and in this regard we are seeking greater closeness with the Islamic Republic of Iran and soon will issue a joint Tehran-Moscow statement on measures taken in this regard.

[Bulhari] What issues will this statement cover?

[Gudev] This statement will pertain to overall political and economic issues.

[Bulhari] My next question is on the political cooperation between our two countries. Russian Deputy Foreign Minister Shokhin has said that Russia will not be the first country to depart from the Persian Gulf. The United States and all the other countries are the ones that should leave the Persian Gulf. Iran also wants this. Will this subject be incorporated in the joint statement? My other question is on Central Asia and the Caucasus. Will there be any mention of joint cooperation between Tehran and Moscow on establishing peace and stability in the region?

[Gudev] I should draw your attention to the point that this statement will be a general principled document and will not reflect the current regional and economic developments. Of course, I may stress that this mechanism [preceding word in English] should only be created by utilizing the resources of the regional countries. Similarly, the Russian Government wants the regional countries to resolve their mutual disputes through negotiations and political means.

Central Asia, the Caucasus, Russia, and Iran are the real neighbors of the countries in the north and south of this region. In this regard, there exists in Moscow the desire to ascertain the opinions of Iran regarding Central Asia and the Caucasus and to attain coordination with them. Russia wishes to strive for the establishment of peace and stability in these regions by various means.

My country always has been in contact with Iran regarding the attainment of ways to safeguard peace and prevent tension in Central Asia in areas such as Tajikistan and Nagorno-Karabakh. For example, I participated on behalf of my country in the tripartite session between Armenia, Azerbaijan, and Iran in Tehran. The Iranian Government's representatives regularly visit Baku and Yerevan and hold talks with Russian Government representatives on solving the Nagorno-Karabakh issue. In this regard, the Russian Foreign Ministry's roving ambassador, Mr. Kazimirov, traveled to Iran a few days ago and held talks with Iranian officials.

The exchange of views between the two countries in this regard was rather important and it was decided that Iran and Russia should intensify their joint efforts to eliminate the Nagorno-Karabakh crisis and establish peace in the region. Of course, the mediating efforts on Nagorno-Karabakh will continue in the Minsk session.

[Bulhari] Iran has not participated in this session up to now. In view of Iran's extremely important position regarding the solution to the Nagorno-Karabakh crisis, has any effort taken place for this session's cooperation with Iran?

[Gudev] Since Iran is not a CSCE member, it cannot participate in the Minsk session. But this does not detract from Iran's fundamental and key role in resolving the Nagorno-Karabakh crisis. There are various ways for Iran to cooperate with the Minsk session. One of these is the direct consultations between the Islamic Republic of Iran and Rafaelli, chairman of the Minsk session.

Of course, some of the countries which are members of the Minsk conference want Iran's participation in the session, but there are some problems. This is because a consensus of all the member countries is necessary before Iran can enter this group. In any case, the general situation in the country demands the greater participation of the regional countries as well as the members of the Minsk session.

As regards Central Asia, I should also state that the situation in that region is different from Nagorno-Karabakh. Except for Tajikistan, the situation is quite stable in all the Central Asian countries and the people there support their leaders' policies. There are no differences or clashes between the countries of this region.

[Bulhari] By my question, I meant the republics of Tajikistan and Uzbekistan rather than the others.

[Gudev] Of course, there are differences, The events in Tajikistan have their roots within the country. This is a serious situation and we are disturbed by it. The events in that republic have culminated in clashes and war between various groups. The situation in Tajikistan is a serious source for concern because 42 percent of the residents in that republic are not Tajiks and their lives are in danger. Therefore, the countries neighboring Tajikistan also are extremely anxious about this.

In this regard, the Russian Government has conveyed its apprehension to the Iranian side. We concur with Iranian officials on the prohibition of foreign intervention and any efforts to enhance the presence of ethnic and religious nationalities in Tajikistan and all other Central Asian republics.

In the next few days the session of the heads of the Central Asian republics, including the Russian foreign minister, will convene to review the situation in Tajikistan. Unfortunately, the tension in Tajikistan has reached such a point that it is necessary to establish some kind of mediating force for peace and security, at least in Dushanbe, the capital of Tajikistan, so that talks can begin between the warring groups. This is primarily the obligation of the CIS countries, and Russia has reached an agreement with former and current Tajik officials to retain its military forces there. The Russian Armed Forces are strictly maintaining their neutrality in the Tajik imbroglio and at the same time are playing an important role in safeguarding security.

An analysis of the recent events in Tajikistan indicates that had the Russian forces not been present there, the bloodshed and war would have been worse.

In my opinion, the officials and warring groups in Tajikistan realize Russia's positive role, but at the same

time, I should state that some of the political groups in Tajikistan are using the presence of the Russian forces for their own purposes.

[Bulhari] My next question is on U.S. foreign policy regarding Russia. Recently, the United States has expressed its opposition to Iranian-Russian cooperation in industry, defense, and technology and has threatened to halt its financial assistance to Moscow next year if the cooperation continues. What do you think? Will Russia succumb to U.S. threats and pressures?

[Gudev] We want our relations with the United States to be equal; that is, in the form of relations between two large countries. It is clear that Russia and the United States have many common interests in eliminating the danger of a nuclear war and the destruction of nuclear weapons. In any case, every country has its own national interests, and Russian and U.S. national interests do not have to be the same.

It is possible for each side to realize the other's interests, and each side should act to defend and safeguard its national interests in a manner that does not conflict with the other side. We have no doubt that the United States wants Russian reforms to succeed. Some U.S. political circles, however, believe that the current problems in Russia can be used to influence Russian foreign policy and weaken Russia's role in international relations. They are deluding themselves that Russia will succumb to U.S. pressure.

Such efforts do not benefit Russia and are in stark contrast to Russia's actual role in international relations. We are willing to meet with the United States regarding every issue that concerns it and to seek a solution for the issues on which the two countries differ. Such a solution should not be harmful to U.S. or Russian interests and should not disrupt the balance of international power. If such talks are to be held from a position of strength, we will not accept them.

Russia has announced, regarding the framework of its agreements with Iran, that it will continue to cooperate with Iran in defense and technology. We know that such cooperation will not harm any third party, because this cooperation does not include weapons of mass destruction, which are banned by the international community. The cooperation is within the framework of preserving the regional balance of power and is not for Iran or weapon sales but for Russian national interests, which involve other countries. The United States should not imagine that Russia will relinquish its independent foreign policy and come under its influence.

[Bulhari] In view of the Democrats' victory in the U.S. presidential elections and their past role in Congress and the Senate, what is your appraisal of U.S. foreign policy toward Russia? My other question pertains to the sale of two Russian submarines to Iran, over which the West has initiated an immense propaganda clamor, claiming that the sale has disrupted the regional balance of power and endangered the supply of oil to the West. How do you access this Western propaganda ploy?

[Gudev] I think the Democrats always supported the Republicans' foreign policy toward Russia. For example, the Democrats supported and still support democratic reforms in the former Soviet Union and the CIS, and they want the talks with Russia to continue on various international issues, such as international disarmament. Therefore, we do not foresee any fundamental change in U.S. foreign policy.

[Bulhari] Will they continue their policy of talking from a position of strength?

[Gudev] I have spoken on the principles of U.S. foreign policy, and the policy of approaching issues from a position of strength will stem from the prevailing international situation. One cannot rule out the possibility that U.S. foreign policy will continue to come from a position of strength.

Military experts should decide if the submarines pose any threat, not individuals who are not trained in this area. In view of the vast quantity of arms in the Middle East, however, and the large number of foreign warships in the Persian Gulf, it is incorrect to say that the presence of these submarines threatens regional security and disrupts the balance of power in the Persian Gulf. Similarly, I should state that Russia and Iran have agreed that these submarines will not be used against a third party and will only be used for defensive purposes.

[Bulhari] Recently AL-HAYAT published a report on a military pact between Russia, the UAE [United Arab Emirates], and Kuwait. Since this report was published some time ago, the Russian Foreign Ministry neither confirmed nor denied it. In light of the current situation between Iran and the UAE regarding the Iranian islands, couldn't we say that Moscow is supporting one side of the dispute?

[Gudev] I am not aware of the AL-HAYAT report, so I cannot confirm or deny it, but our position is very clear. We want all differences to be resolved through negotiations. Neither side should resort to force to resolve differences. Personally, I believe that there are many ways to resolve these disagreements.

I suppose the Islamic Republic of Iran, the UAE, and all the countries of the region are eager to prevent another flashpoint in the region, especially since the full consequences of Iraq's invasion of Kuwait are not fully know. I wish to stress that I am optimistic about an amicable political rapprochement between Iran and the UAE.

Delegate Addresses Security Council on Bosnia

NC1711075792 Tehran Voice of the Islamic Republic of Iran First Program Network in Persian 0430 GMT 17 Nov 92

[Text] The Security Council held a special session to discuss the crisis in Bosnia-Hercegovina and issued a

resolution calling on all countries to carry out inspections and help in the full implementation of the UN sanctions against Serbia and Montenegro. The UN resolution calls on countries to stop and inspect ships in the Adriatic Sea and the Danube River to prevent the violation of the sanctions against Serbija and Montenegro. The Security Council had issued a similar resolution on this before.

The Security Council members say that the war in Bosnia- Hercegovina is not ending because UN sanctions on Serbia and Montenegro have not been fully implemented. Islamic countries do not consider the UN sanctions to be sufficient for ending the war in Bosnia and have stated that the arms sanctions on Bosnia-Hercegovina should be lifted.

Some countries' UN representatives spoke before the Security Council voted last night. Iranian Permanent UN Representative Kamal Kharrazi was one of the speakers. He told the Security Council members: If you cannot use the means of the United Nations to defend the territorial integrity of a country and to prevent the annihilation of a nation, then at least allow the victims of this injustice to defend themselves. Kharrazi clarified: At least in order to preserve your credibility, warn the Serb aggressors that if they do not stop their aggression and crimes by a certain date, the arms sanctions against Bosnia will be lifted.

He described the efforts by the Security Council and the international community to solve the crisis in Bosnia-Hercegovina as fruitless and said: Despite these efforts, the Serbs continue the occupation of Bosnia-Hercegovina. Iran's permanent UN representative warned: According to the United Nations, if assistance does not reach Bosnia-Hercegovina soon, 400,000 people will die of hunger, disease, and cold this winter. Kharrazi stressed that the people and Government of Iran feel that they stand beside the people in Bosnia-Hercegovina.

Red Crescent To Send More Aid to Bosnia

LD1711113192 Tehran IRNA in English 1104 GMT 17 Nov 92

[Text] Tehran, Nov. 17, IRNA—A new consignment of people's humanitarian assistance for the oppressed Bosnian Muslims will be sent to Bosnia on Thursday, head of the Red Crescent Society (IRCS) Seifollah Vahid-Dastjerdi announced here Tuesday.

He told IRNA that the consignment includes 100 tons of foodstuff, medicine and clothes donated by the people during the week of solidarity with the Bosnian people November 4-11.

According to Dastjerdi, IRCS has so far transported some 500 tons of goods to Bosnia.

Iran is to open up its representative office in the Croatian capital of Zagreb to facilitate transfer of the donations to the Bosnian war-stricken Muslims, he added.

The IRCS in cooperation with the Imam Khomeyni relief committee sponsored the fund raising campaign throughout the country and collected aid in cash and in kind for the Bosnian people.

Dastjerdi thanked the people for their extensive cooperation in this regard and called on them to continue to grant further donations.

Earlier this month, an Iranian delegation was in Bosnia to distribute the Iranian donations among the Bosnian Muslims and to study their situation.

Velayati Informs Turkey of Release of Ship

NC1711072592 Tehran Voice of the Islamic Republic of Iran First Program Network in Persian 0330 GMT 17 Nov 92

[Text] The Turkish foreign minister contacted Velayati by telephone last night to inform him of the definite release of the ship Cape Maleas. Previous reports also had been published on the ship's release, but this time the decision apparently is definite.

During his contact with Velayati, Cetin expressed hopes on behalf of the Turkish Government that with the release of the Cape Maleas and the resolution of one of the tangible problems in the two countries' relations, Tehran-Ankara ties will expand to the extent they deserve.

The Cape Maleas was impounded about a year ago while passing through the Bosphorus Strait. Throughout the past year, however, the actual and acceptable legal reasons justifying this action have not been stated.

During the conversation on the Cape Maleas, the Turkish foreign minister referred to the recent meeting of the Iranian, Syrian, and Turkish foreign ministers in Ankara and described the results of this meeting as extremely positive. During this meeting, the foreign ministers discussed the situation in northern Iraq and the Turkish side explained why it has sent its army to northern Iraq.

During last night's telephone conversation between the Turkish and Iranian foreign ministers, Velayati also described Tehran-Ankara relations as significant and told Cetin that he hopes Turkish officials will be alert in the future and not allow those who intend to weaken bilateral relations to carry out acts similar to the impounding of the Cape Maleas.

Velayati has described the Ankara session as a start in favorable cooperation between Iran, Syria, and Turkey and as benefiting regional interests.

Egypt's Role as Peace 'Broker' Questioned

LD1611135292 Tehran Voice of the Islamic Republic of Iran First Program Network in Persian 1048 GMT 16 Nov 92

[Station commentary]

[Excerpts] Israeli Foreign Minister Shim'on Peres said on his return from Cairo that the Egyptian authorities have a profound understanding of Israel's views. It is reported that the Zionist foreign minister's talks in Cairo centered on a plan drawn up by [Yasir] 'Arafat and the Egyptian authorities during the former's visit to Cairo. [passage omitted]

According to political observers, the Israeli foreign minister's visit to Egypt was in effect aimed at holding indirect talks with the Palestinian Liberation Organization [PLO]. PLO leader Yasir 'Arafat has always been eager to hold direct talks with Israel, but that regime has hitherto refused to hold direct talks with an organization which it considers to be subversive. Nevertheless, Israeli authorities have admitted that talks with the Palestinian delegation at the peace talks would have been impossible without the PLO's consent.

One point which is worth noting is the Egyptian Government's stance—it is the only Arab country which has so far signed a peace treaty with Israel. It appears that whenever the peace talks reach a deadlock and encounter a problem, the Egyptian Government must play its role as a broker to prevent the breakup of the peace talks.

We must call into question the Egyptian Government's right to act as a broker because of its intense suppression of Muslims—and there is a notable lack of protests over violations of human rights in this respect—and because of its attacks on Iran,. which serve to create a climate of unrest in the Persian Gulf region.

As Shim'on Peres was walking about the streets of Cairo in order to give the impression that his presence in an Arab country is normal, the Egyptian regime was killing faithful Muslims and at the same time warning Iran not to interfere in the internal affairs of Arab countries.

It is clear that the Egyptian Government thinks a greater understanding between Iran and the governments of the region would not be in Cairo's interest. It is not clear whether Iran's sincere attempts to resolve the Abu Musa conflict—by returning the emirate's teachers to that island, and by normalizing the situation—is considered to be intervention in other countries' affairs, or whether the problem is Iran's purchase of submarines as a means of strengthening its defensive capability. It is not clear what kind of a future the Egyptian Government has in mind by acting as a broker between Israel and the Arab governments, attacking Iran, attempting to create unrest in the Persian Gulf, and suppressing that country's Muslims. Are there no lessons to be learned from the past?

New Civil Aviation Chief Appointed

LD1611221392 Tehran Voice of the Islamic Republic of Iran First Program Network in Persian 2030 GMT 16 Nov 92

[Text] At its meeting this afternoon the Cabinet continued its review of the country's 1372 [1993-94] budget.

On the proposal of the minster of roads and transport and with the approval of the Cabinet, Mohammad Nabi Najjariyan was appointed head of the Civil Aviation Organization. The Cabinet also praised Mr. Nuriyan, the former head of the organization, for his services.

Pakistan

Islamabad March Banned; Prohibitory Orders Imposed

BK1611154892 Islamabad Radio Pakistan Network in Urdu 1500 GMT 16 Nov 92

[Text] Chaudhary Nissar Ali Khan, prime minister's special aide and federal minister, has said that the government will not allow the participants in the People's Democratic Alliance's [PDA's] march on 18 November to enter Islamabad. Briefing foreign newsmen in Islamabad this evening, he said the government has made this decision because it has the duty to protect the lives of the citizens as well as the official buildings, personnel of diplomatic missions, and their property. He added that we are still in touch with the PDA leaders and we have received some clear signals. He hoped that better sense will prevail and the PDA will reach an understanding on organizing a peaceful rally in Rawalpindi.

Details of the minister's briefing are awaited.

Police in Islamabad recovered a large number of bamboo sticks during a raid on the Central Secretariat of the Pakistan People's Party. According to the police, the raid was carried out on the information that the sticks are being stored there. The police recovered 20 bundles of the bamboo sticks during the raid which allegedly were being stored to be used during the 18 November march. Two guards have been taken into custody. The investigation is continuing.

The Federal Government has banned the assembly of five or more persons and carrying of arms in the territorial limits of the federal capital. An order issued by the additional district magistrate of Islamabad says assembly of people, staging demonstrations or organizing rallies and carrying of arms, except by police or soldiers, is banned in the territorial limits of the Islamabad District. The order comes into effect at once and will be in force for two months.

'Political Terrorism' Charged

BK1611152192 Islamabad PTV Television Network in English 1400 GMT 16 Nov 92

[Text] The interior minister, Chaudhary Shujat Hussain, has said that the program chalked out by the PDA to introduce a new tradition of unconstitutional and undemocratic agitation on November 18th in Islamabad is not only a conspiracy to inflict an insult on the sanctity of the Senate and to sabotage it, but is also an ugly effort to subject the country to terrorism as well as to cause damage to the democratic institutions. He was taking part in the discussion in the Senate today on the privilege motions moved by Hafiz Hussain Muhammad of Jamait-i-Ulema-i-Islam-Fazlur Rahman group and IJI [Islami Jamhoori Ittehad] Senator Raja Mohammad Afzal Khan. Referring to the provocative and instigating statements of various PDA leaders appearing in the national newspapers during the last one week, the interior minister said that these leaders had gone to the extent of even saying that they would occupy the president's house, the prime minister's house, parliamentary house, and television center. He said it has also been made clear in the statement of these leaders that full show of force and terrorism would be made on that day and [word indistinct] with kafan [pall] on their heads. They also expressed their intention to demonstrate in front of the foreign missions.

The interior minister also apprised the house of the decisions taken in the meeting of the PPP [Pakistan People's Party] Central Working Committee held in Lahore. According to these decisions about 500 diehard trained terrorists will be used for sabotage and to expose the federal capital to chaos. These workers will be provided with adequate quantity of tear gas shells, petrol bombs, and other explosive material for this purpose. He said it was also decided in the meeting that clubs will be supplied to the elements participating in the procession. It was also decided that in the same meeting that a student, or woman, or a laborer would be killed through firing from within the process with a view to exploit their dead bodies. He observed that this would only be a demonstration, but an open political terrorism and sabotage.

Chaudhary Shujat Hussain said that the Government established contacts with the leaders of PDA despite their negative objectives and undemocratic plans to know about the route and program of the protest demonstration to settle the administrative matters. But the PDA leaders, after consulting their party bosses, refused to hold any talk with the government in this connection.

The interior minister said that at a time when the Senate was in session, PDA's announcement to bring about such a protest procession was a heinous attempt to undermine the effectiveness of the parliament and to breach its privilege. He requested the chairman of the Senate as well as the house to take notice of all these in order to protect the country from disturbances and terrorism and to serve the democratic institutions.

March Ban Explained

BK1611163492 Islamabad Radio Pakistan Network in English 1600 GMT 16 Nov 92

[Text] The proposed protest demonstration of the PDA will not be allowed to take place in the federal capital on Wednesday [18 November]. This was announced by the special assistant to the prime minister, Chaudhary Nissar Ali Khan, while briefing foreign journalists in Islamabad this evening. He said the government had taken the measure in view of PDA's announcement that they would stage a prolonged sit-in before the Parliament House. He said such political gatherings and demonstrations had never been allowed in Islamabad since 1981, even during the 20-month rule of the Pakistan People's Party. No political rally was allowed, but when a small rally was held in Islamabad to protest against the Salman Rushdie's book, it was stopped by force and some seven people were killed.

Chaudhary Nissar Ali Khan said the PDA could be allowed to hold protest demonstration in Rawalpindi, provided it was a political rally and did not harm the life and property of the people. The government, he said, was still in touch with senior leaders of the PDA in order to facilitate the protest rally in Rawalpindi. He hoped that better sense will prevail and the matter will be resolved peacefully. He said the present government had to its credit of not obstructing the opposition from holding political public demonstrations and meetings during the last two years. We want to keep the record intact and had no intention to stop the opposition to exercise their legal and democratic right.

Bhutto Comments on Rally Ban, Raid, Arrests

BK1611155592 Delhi All India Radio Network in English 1530 GMT 16 Nov 92

[Text] In Pakistan, the Central Secretariat of the opposition Pakistan People's Party [PPP] in Islamabad was today raided by the police and later sealed after an alleged recovery of weapons. The co-chairperson of the PPP, Ms. Benazir Bhutto, condemned the incident. She denied that any arms and ammunition had been recovered from the premises. Speaking to the AIR [All India Radio] Islamabad correspondent, Suresh Chopra, Ms. Bhutto said that over 6,000 People's Democratic Alliance workers had been arrested all over Pakistan by the authorities in bid to stop the long march to Islamabad scheduled for Wednesday [18 November].

Later, addressing a press conference, Ms. Bhutto said that any attempt to stop the march would amount to trampling of democratic and human rights.

Armed Police Occupy Rawalpindi Rally Site

BK1711113192 Hong Kong AFP in English 1112 GMT 17 Nov 92

[Text] Rawalpindi, Pakistan, Nov 17 (AFP)—The Pakistan Government sent armed police Tuesday to occupy a

planned opposition rally site in Rawalpindi after banning Wednesday's planned protest march on Islamabad.

Meanwhile, opposition official Senator Iqbal Haider said more than 10,000 opposition supporters suspected of planning to take part in the march had been arrested throughout the country.

As fears grew of violent confrontation scores of police surrounded the Liaquat Garden site and sealed it off from the public, witnesses said. All public gatherings in Rawalpindi were banned by the Punjab provincial government Monday.

"We have strict instructions not to allow anyone to enter the area," said a police officer supervising the operation, part of stringent security measures enforced by Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif's government.

Opposition leader Benazir Bhutto's four-party People's Democratic Alliance (PDA) insisted the planned 15-kilometer (nine-mile) march from Rawalpindi to Islamabad to call for early general elections would go ahead, even if they themselves face arrest. The opposition was already claiming a moral victory because of the government's "nervousness" and nationwide crackdown.

Bhutto said hundreds of thousands of people would take part. She accused Sharif of creating conditions for a "civil war."

Sharif meanwhile described the planned march as "a call for open rebellion," and warned that the government would not allow it to go ahead. "We cannot allow anarchy in the capital," said Sharif, who told reporters the government had never obstructed "legitimate" political activity during its two years in power. "But I think they are coming here with different motives," he said, accusing PDA leaders of wanting to take over Islamabad, seize power and depose the government.

"This is nothing short of a call for an open rebellion," he said. "We must not allow terrorists to come and take over the capital."

Officials said the ban on gatherings in Rawalpindi was decreed for two months. There had been earlier indications that the rally might be allowed to go ahead, but official sources said the PDA refusal to guarantee that its supporters would disperse peacefully without attempting to march toward Islamabad had led to the ban being imposed.

Police raided the secretariat of Bhutto's Pakistan People's Party (PPP), the main PDA component, on Monday and took away party literature and thousands of bamboo sticks which Bhutto said were flagpoles. There were growing fears across the country that the confrontation could lead to violence.

Sources in Peshawar said the administration there had banned public gatherings throughout the North West Frontier Province, prohibited the use of loudspeakers and clamped strict controls on public transport. Petrol stations have been ordered to limit sales to five litres per customer, they said.

In Karachi there were reports of gold hoarding amid fears that the national currency, the rupee, could be hit by the political instability. A foreign banker in Karachi, who did not want to be named, said there had been an increase in cash withdrawals in the past few days which could be attributed to nervousness among depositors.